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The Michigan Gubernatorial Campaign of 1938

Samuel T. McSeveney

THE MID-TERM ELECTIONS OF 1938 deserve serious attention from historians.¹ They mark the first electoral defeat suffered by the Democracy since 1928; the blow was more sharply felt as it followed by but two years the smashing personal triumph of Franklin Delano Roosevelt in his second presidential campaign as well as sweeping Democratic victories in lesser races. The Republicans registered important gains in the 1938 congressional elections, picking up eighty-one seats in the House of Representatives and seven in the Senate. The G.O.P. also scored a net gain of eleven in gubernatorial races, recapturing the governors' mansions in such pivotal states as Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts. Connecticut, Wisconsin, and Minnesota also returned to the minority party's fold. Democratic victories in Maryland, North Dakota, and California could not reverse this Republican tide.²

¹Professor Robert E. Burke of the University of Washington and Dr. Milton Plesur of the University of Buffalo broached this subject in general papers on "The Republican Revival, 1937-1938," delivered before the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, December 29, 1958, in Washington, D. C. Karl A. Lamb, *Republican Strategy and the Congressional Election of 1938*, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Oxford University, Oxford, England, 1958, treats another aspect of the subject. The writer gratefully acknowledges the contributions of numerous individuals and organizations to this study. Professor Burke referred him to pertinent collections in the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library (hereafter referred to as the Roosevelt Library); the librarians at Hyde Park graciously made this material available. Professor William E. Leuchtenburg of Columbia University read a final draft of the article; the author profited from his comments. A grant from the Social Science Research Council for the furtherance of another research project enabled the writer to utilize the resources of the Roosevelt Library and to confer with Professor Leuchtenburg. And Professor Samuel P. Hays, then of the State University of Iowa, in whose seminar this study had its origin, provided invaluable advice and criticism during its progress.

²Even in California, where the Republican governor was unseated, the Democrats lost ground in the congressional delegation and in the state legislature. Robert E. Burke, *Olson's New Deal for California* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1953), discusses these elections. This volume contains the only detailed analysis of a 1938 state campaign in print at this time.

The Republican party had, through its victories in gubernatorial elections, re-established itself in a number of the nation's politically important states. And its congressional successes ushered in an era during which the Republicans' revived delegation — together with conservative elements recruited from within Democratic ranks — achieved a relative political stalemate between the legislative and executive branches of the federal government, the latter being held by the urban-liberal wing of the Democratic party until 1953. Many of the Republican party's standard bearers during this period, and into the Eisenhower years, earned their political spurs during the 1938 campaigns, among them the late Robert A. Taft, Harold Stassen, John W. Bricker, Leverett Saltonstall, Alexander Wiley, Henry C. Dworshak, Karl Mundt, Bourke Hickenlooper, and Thomas E. Dewey, who, while defeated, nearly unseated Herbert Lehman as governor of New York.

Underlying the 1938 elections was a growing reaction against a Democratic party leadership which had oriented itself to the needs and aspirations of the lower and lower-middle classes, organized labor, and ethnic and racial minorities. These groups were of paramount political importance in the nation's major metropolitan areas, which in turn played a decisive role in national political campaigns and, frequently, in state races as well.³ No contest more faithfully reflected this conflict which divided and motivated the electorate than did the Michigan gubernatorial race pitting Governor Frank Murphy, Democrat, against former Governor Frank Fitzgerald, Republican. While state and local problems received attention from both parties — as is usual during an election for state office — the campaign focused upon issues which far transcended Michigan's boundaries. Governor Murphy's nation-wide reputation and his identification with the New Deal wing of the Democratic party gave added significance to the canvass.⁴

³See Professor Samuel J. Eldersveld's stimulating "The Influence of Metropolitan Party Pluralities in Presidential Elections Since 1920: A Study of Twelve Key Cities" in the *American Political Science Review*, 43:1189-1206 (December, 1949). Dr. Eldersveld's intensive analysis of Michigan, A Study of Urban Electoral Trends in Michigan, 1920-1940, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Michigan, 1950, was of limited use to the writer.

⁴Murphy had served as mayor of Detroit, governor general of the Philippine Islands, and high commissioner to the Philippine Islands before run-

Secondly, the election merits study in that it occurred during a period of flux in Michigan politics. Prior to the depression, the state had been a Republican stronghold, but during the next ten years the Democrats registered voting gains and, upon occasion, scored electoral triumphs.⁵ A study of the second Murphy-Fitzgerald campaign therefore sheds light upon transformations within Michigan, as well as on the national political scene, during the decade of the Great Depression.

In power since 1933, the Roosevelt administration had by 1938 aroused serious opposition to its policies within Democratic ranks. Governor Murphy, although in office less than two years, faced a similar problem in his quest for a second term. He had, to be sure, run unopposed in the party's primary. And the governor had been cheered wildly as he was renominated by acclamation at the Democracy's September convention. But former Governor William A. Comstock, who had attempted to organize a pre-convention "stop Murphy" drive, bolted the party following its conclave. A number of pre-New Deal party leaders followed him, and together they organized the Constitutional Democratic party with the avowed purpose of undoing those Democrats who had "departed from American principles of government."⁶ B. F. Stephen-

ning for the governorship of Michigan, with Roosevelt's support, in 1936. He also served the president in unofficial capacities, attempting, for example, to persuade Father Charles Coughlin to tone down his criticism of the administration. See James P. Shenton, "The Coughlin Movement and the New Deal" in *Political Science Quarterly*, 73:372-73 (September, 1958). Murphy later served as attorney general of the United States, and was appointed an associate justice of the United States Supreme Court, remaining on that bench from 1940 until his death nine years later.

⁵No Democratic presidential candidate carried Michigan between 1852 and 1932, although in 1892 the electoral vote was split nine for Benjamin Harrison to five for Grover Cleveland. Roosevelt repeated his initial success in both 1936 and 1944. The Democrats won the governorship in 1932, 1936, and 1940 — after having lost all but two of twenty canvasses beginning with 1892. James K. Pollock and Samuel J. Eldersveld discuss the 1930's in "Michigan Politics in Transition" in *Michigan Governmental Studies*, No. 10 (Ann Arbor, 1942).

⁶Stephen B. Sarasohn, *The Regulation of Parties and Nominations in Michigan: The Politics of Election Reform*, 364, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Columbia University, 1953; *Detroit Free Press*, September 25, 1938. Tension existed before Comstock's effort, and Senator Prentiss M. Brown felt that he had prevented powerful opposition to Murphy's candidacy from arising in the primary. See F.D.R.L., Official File 300, Democratic National Committee [hereafter cited as O.F. 300], *Michigan, 1938-1945*, Prentiss M. Brown to Roosevelt, June 6, 1938.

son received the new party's gubernatorial nomination. He had served, only two years earlier, as Michigan supervisor of Father Charles E. Coughlin's right-wing National Union for Social Justice.

The Constitutional Democrats soon ran into organizational difficulties. Mayor George Welsh of Grand Rapids, from whom the third party expected support, declared for Fitzgerald early in October.⁷ Local politicians, whose assistance was vital to any serious attempt at a third-party campaign, shied away from the movement. Thus, old-line Democrats, who felt that the defeat of Governor Murphy's "little New Deal" was of transcendent importance, had been balked in their attempt to head off the governor's renomination or, failing in this, to establish a potent new party. They now realized that their appeal to conservative elements and sentiments might draw off potential Republican votes and thereby aid Murphy's cause. Stephenson withdrew from the race in mid-October; during the final weeks of the campaign, he, Comstock, and other Constitutional Democrats suggested that followers either vote Republican or "sit out" the election.⁸ Although the third party did not appear on the November ballot, its very creation reveals some of the tensions felt within the Democratic party during this period — strains which prevented the Democracy from joining battle with united ranks.

Murphy faced another major problem in that he had failed to employ his gubernatorial powers to create a political machine of any strength. The governor, who "scorned organization," had relied upon a "charismatic personality and a seat on Franklin Roosevelt's coattails" to secure his initial victory.⁹ At the same time,

⁷Detroit Free Press, October 4, 1938. Welsh, who had bolted the Republicans in 1932 to support Comstock's bid for the governorship, was defeated by Murphy in the Democratic gubernatorial primary of 1936.

⁸Detroit Free Press, October 6, 1938. One party leader declared that conservative Democrats had so much in common with Republicans that an informal alliance should be attempted, thereby paving the way for a 1940 campaign against the New Deal.

⁹Stephen B. and Vera H. Sarasohn, *Political Party Patterns in Michigan*, 46 (Detroit, 1957). The governor earned the disapprobation of party workers because of his stand, and many expressed the view that his policies in this connection had contributed to his own political downfall. See F.D.R.L., O.F. 300, Election Forecasts & Analyses of Results, November, 1938, Michigan Folder, William J. Delany to James A. Farley, December 15, 1938; George Marble to Farley, December 16, 1938; Martin R. Bradley to Farley, December 23, 1938; Claude B. Root to Farley, December 28, 1938. Marble's letter is particularly interesting.

his politically ambitious state highway commissioner, Murray D. Van Wagoner, had welded "one of the most powerful political machines Michigan has ever seen."¹⁰ State and federal appropriations provided the commission with funds; and Van Wagoner channeled money into the state's Upper Peninsula, raising that region's share of the total highway expenditures from 15 per cent to 24 per cent. Van Wagoner rewarded loyalty in staffing his organization; his unhappiness with Governor Murphy's zeal for expanding the state's civil service system was understandable.¹¹ In addition, the governor, faced with mounting deficits, opposed a proposed constitutional amendment which would earmark gasoline and truck weight levies for highway improvement. Murphy's stand was a costly one to him, as Van Wagoner remained out of the state during much of the campaign and finally delivered but a half-hearted endorsement of his party's leader.¹² Governor Murphy, in attacking the tax proposal, also earned the enmity of powerful and frequently interlocking organizations: the Highway Users Conference of Michigan, the County Road Association of Michigan, and the county road commissions, themselves. Agricultural and business interests gained from the shift of highway financing from property taxes to motor use levies; neither they nor the road commissions wished these revenues applied to other ends.¹³

If the governor was forced to campaign leading a disunited party, he was able at least to charge that the Republicans had achieved solidarity at the price of gagging those who opposed the candidacy of Frank Fitzgerald. The Republican state convention had been dominated by a triumvirate consisting of Frank McKay,

¹⁰Detroit News, September 15, 1939.

¹¹Detroit Free Press, September 30, 1938.

¹²Detroit Free Press, October 22, 1938. Early in the campaign, Van Wagoner traveled to the West Coast, where he addressed the convention of the American Road Builders Association. He also found time to speak before the Agricultural Club of Chicago. See the Detroit Free Press, October 20, 1938. For references to the political inactivity of the highway commission, see F.D.R.L., O.F. 300, Election Forecasts . . . , 1938, Michigan Folder, Edmund C. Shields to James A. Farley, October 28, 1938; Frank A. Picard to Farley, October 31, 1938. Picard informed Farley that the commission was finally cooperating, a view also expressed by Clara D. Van Anken to Farley, October 30, 1938.

¹³James B. McKee, *An Analysis of the Power Structure of Organized Agriculture in Michigan*, 140-48, unpublished M.A. Thesis, Wayne State University, 1948.

a former state treasurer who had ties with the State Liquor Control Commission; Edward N. Barnard, Detroit attorney and counsel for the Detroit and Wayne County Federations of Labor; and William R. McKeighton, mayor of Flint. Fitzgerald had served as secretary of state, from which post he built up an efficient machine among the state auto license bureau chiefs. Elected governor in 1934, he had failed of re-election in the Democratic landslide of 1936.¹⁴

Both parties recognized the claims of groups important to their success in selecting candidates for the lieutenant governorship. Lieutenant Governor Leo Nowicki, renominated by the Democrats, reflected the increasing importance of Polish-Americans within that party. The Republicans nominated Luren Dickinson, septuagenarian veteran of six terms as lieutenant governor (1915-21, 1927-33), prominent Methodist, and a leader of Michigan's prohibition movement. Fitzgerald, who did not favor Dickinson's nomination, had remained circumspect in his opposition, for his running-mate was popular in predominantly Protestant and "dry" rural areas of the state. But the Republican gubernatorial candidate attempted a delicate political coup by cautiously wooing Leo Nowicki. The latter was popular among politically important Polish-American groups, some of which were reportedly restive in the ranks of the Democracy. In addition, he was a protege of the powerful Murray D. Van Wagoner, whose continued and benevolent neutrality might be assured by such overtures.¹⁵

Governor Murphy sought to make political capital out of his opponent's tactics. Speaking before rural audiences, he charged that Fitzgerald was circumventing the will of his own party as expressed in the primary elections. The Democrats reproduced

¹⁴*Detroit Free Press*, October 2, 4, 1938. See also Sarasohn, *The Regulation of Parties and Nominations in Michigan*, 342ff. During the convention, former State Senator James Quinlan, an aide to Fitzgerald, suggested to a group of recalcitrant delegates, "let's go down the line and do as we're told to do. . . ." The *Detroit Free Press* reported this incident on October 5, 1938.

¹⁵*Detroit Free Press*, October 20, 1938. The First Congressional District, in which Polish-Americans predominated, had witnessed a bitter Democratic primary fight, in which Dr. Rudolph G. Tenerowicz defeated Representative George G. Sadowski. References to this situation are to be found in the F.D.R.L., O.F.300, *Election Forecasts . . .*, 1938, *Michigan Folder*, John C. Lehr to James A. Farley, October 31, 1938; Representative John D. Dingell to Farley, October 26, 1938; and Dr. Rudolph G. Tenerowicz to Farley, October 25, 1938.

advertisements placed by the Manistee County Republican Committee which had listed every state and local candidate except Dickinson.¹⁶ Fitzgerald, alarmed at criticism of his talk before the East Michigan Tourist Association in which he had expressed his view that Nowicki would again be elected, apologized for the slip and arranged a reconciliation appearance with Dickinson. On October 28, however, he addressed a Detroit Italian-American group which had endorsed Nowicki. There Fitzgerald proclaimed his pride in having been named by the gathering "along with the other fine candidates" and suggested that the group vote for its choices.¹⁷ The Democrats devoted less attention to Republican internecine strife during the later stages of the campaign. Friends of Leo Nowicki contended that sympathy was being generated for his opponent, Luren Dickinson, and other issues arose, forcing this one into the background.

The Fitzgerald-Dickinson-Nowicki episode reveals in part the complex of cultural, religious, ethnic, and economic factors that contribute to rural-urban conflict, which itself found an outlet in the political struggle. Fitzgerald sought to augment his party's essentially rural and small town popular base by gaining urban supporters; while Murphy, aware of his party's weakness in rural areas, sought to turn Fitzgerald's effort to his own profit. Governor Murphy's Catholicism drew attention during the campaign, but this was not a novel experience for him, his religion having been injected into the Detroit mayoralty canvasses of 1930 and 1931, as well as at the time of his first gubernatorial race. Billboards referred to Murphy as the "Tammany candidate," a description calculated to arouse fears in nonurban viewers.¹⁸ The Democrats,

¹⁶Detroit *Free Press*, October 19, 1938.

¹⁷The earlier speech is reported by the Detroit *Free Press*, October 14, 1938. The banquet, avowedly nonpolitical, was highlighted by an informal exchange between the candidates. Fitzgerald explained away his remarks as a practical joke, but prior attitudes and subsequent developments make this doubtful. Newsmen called Fitzgerald's attention to his endorsement of Nowicki before the Detroit talk. Afterward, he excused himself, claiming that "You'll notice I didn't mention his [Nowicki's] name. . . . I had not the slightest intention of even suggesting that anyone vote for Nowicki. . . ." See the Flint *Journal*, October 29, 1938.

¹⁸Flint *Journal*, October 22, 1938; Freeman A. Flynn, Detroit Voters — a Thirty Years View, 18, unpublished M.A. Thesis, Wayne State University, 1948. The editor of the Muskegon *Chronicle* feels that the religious issue car-

albeit to a lesser degree, attempted to make a two-edged sword of these issues, attacking Luren Dickinson in the Detroit area for his association with prohibitionist groups centered in the "sticks."¹⁹ And, after the Republicans raised the spectre of communism, Governor Murphy's partisans emphasized his devout religiosity.

Rural-urban tension was heightened by the state's attempt to deal with urban problems which had been increased by the depression. And in this instance, the issue was placed directly in the hands of the electorate. During 1937, the Michigan legislature passed a bill which provided for the modernization and centralization of the state's relief and welfare agencies. The measure, well suited to the fluctuating needs of the cities, would have curtailed the independence of the county boards of supervisors. These groups attacked the proposal, and marshalled sufficient opposition to force the issue to a referendum. It was scheduled for November 8, 1938. The measure failed of passage, with rural areas providing the margin of defeat.²⁰ In Manistee County, the Republicans nominated an official of the county relief board to run for the state legislature. Local officials had originally appointed him to the board largely because advisory and state officials did not want him in the position. During his successful campaign for the legislature, he attacked state interference with local welfare policies and condemned the county's former emergency relief administrator, Mrs. Louise V. Armstrong, as a "foreigner" from Chicago who had written an insulting study of the county.²¹ Governor Murphy, who

ried weight in outstate Michigan. Charles D. McNamee to the author, December 6, 1955. For politicians' fears on this count, see F.D.R.L., O.F.300, Election Forecasts . . . , 1938, *Michigan* Folder, Willard M. J. Baird to James A. Farley, December 13, 1938; W. H. Bannan to Farley, December 10, 1938.

¹⁹*Detroit Labor News*, September 23, 1938.

²⁰For an analysis of the program and the origins of the referendum, read Arthur Dunham, "Public Welfare and the Referendum in Michigan" in *Social Service Review*, 12:417-39 (September, 1938). On the campaign against the measure, see the *Detroit Free Press*, October 23, 1938; also the *Flint Journal*, November 3, 1938. Eleven "urban counties" gave the plan 52.5 per cent of their votes, while the rest of the state registered but 35.4 per cent in its behalf.

²¹*Detroit Free Press*, September 25, October 9, 1938. Professor Samuel P. Hays informed the writer that local hostility toward centralized welfare agencies was common during this period. Posterity has judged Mrs. Armstrong's book more favorably than did the voters of Manistee County. *We Too Are The People* (Boston, 1938) stands among the finest sociological investigations conducted during the depression.

had alienated important groups by opposing the gasoline and weight tax amendment, further weakened his support in out-state areas by espousing the relief program of 1937.

The governor, attempting to generate support among the state's farmers, emphasized his interest in agriculture's problems and those of rural areas in general. He stressed, during farm addresses, his administration's role in furthering rural electrification and its enforcement of marketing acts which, he claimed, had resulted in increased sales and profits for Michigan farmers. The governor also created a commission to study the over-all problems of the dairy industry which was troubled by reduced milk consumption and falling prices.²² Even as Murphy claimed these accomplishments, the Michigan Milk Producers Association attacked those who sought to make partisan gain by linking them to the governor's milk commission, while the Consumer's Power Company of Michigan launched an advertising campaign which stressed the economy of privately produced and distributed power.

The Democratic state ticket was further handicapped in rural areas by the growing unpopularity of federal agricultural policies among Michigan farmers. Potato farmers rejected proposed federal marketing agreements for that crop, and the light turnout for the balloting aroused speculation that the program had generated little enthusiasm even among its supporters. Falling hog and corn prices caused a reaction in the Midwest against the 1938 Agricultural Adjustment Act; and while the Corn Belt Liberty League was not active in Michigan, there was unrest in the state's corn producing counties. Some 2700 farmers of Lenawee County protested their inclusion in the government's corn control program in a petition to the Secretary of Agriculture, Henry A. Wallace.²³ That cabinet member visited Michigan where he campaigned for Governor Murphy while personally attempting to convince the state's farmers of the worth of his own farm program. Upon his return to Washington, Secretary Wallace was quoted as saying

²²*Detroit Free Press*, October 29, 1938. The commission was headed by G. Mennen Williams, then assistant attorney general of Michigan.

²³*Flint Journal*, September 15, 1938; *Detroit Free Press*, October 21, 1938. For a general discussion of agrarian criticism of federal farm policies, see Theodore Saloutos and John D. Hicks, *Agricultural Discontent in the Middle West, 1900-1939*, 518ff (Madison, 1951).

that Michigan farmers were among those most bitterly opposed to Department of Agriculture policies, and that in Lenawee County "there was perhaps a more complete misunderstanding of the farm act . . . than anywhere in the Middle West."²⁴ There are difficulties in assessing the influence of discontent directed toward federal programs upon a state campaign. But candidates for federal and state offices appear on the same ballot, and Secretary Wallace, espousing unpopular agricultural policies before farmers already critical of the governor's stand on other issues, can hardly have aided Murphy's cause to any appreciable extent.²⁵

The plan to centralize the state's relief administration, it has been pointed out, was coldly received in nonurban areas in general, and particularly by county officials who feared a loss of authority. But opposition to relief programs was not confined to rural and small-town dwellers; and the conflict among urban groups reveals both the antipathies and the loyalties created by the Democrats' social legislation. Responding to the economic crisis of the 1930's, the federal government and many state governments embarked upon spending programs which soon outdistanced depression-curtailed revenues. By 1938, however, the grim years of the mid-thirties were far enough removed to permit the luxury of sharp attacks upon continued deficit financing. Middle and upper-income groups sought to lighten their own tax burdens; while many opposed the objectives of the spending programs. The recession of 1937 had added unemployed people to relief rolls across the nation; in Michigan, Governor Murphy decided to employ funds intended for a school construction program to maintain relief payments. School boards were hostile toward the move and Republican legislators attacked the governor's proposal, attempting to block this expenditure of school appropriations. Fitzgerald declared the deficit to be one of the campaign's two major issues. His pronouncement

²⁴Quoted in the *Flint Journal*, October 27, 1938.

²⁵Farmers, of course, did not limit their criticisms to federal farm policy. The administration's rapprochement with organized labor angered many. Tariff policies hurt others. Letters to James A. Farley indicate that, in Michigan at least, farmers viewed the Works Progress Administration (WPA) with suspicion for diverse, although by no means contradictory, reasons. Marginal farmers felt that road work, a source of needed cash income, was being monopolized by WPA laborers. And prosperous farmers resented the WPA because it tended to raise the cost of farm labor.

was echoed by many Michigan newspapers.²⁶ Across the nation, prospering middle and upper-income citizens organized to voice their grievances over mounting tax burdens and expenditures for social services. The Committee of Americans was established in New York; over three dozen chapters of the National Consumers' Commission were active during 1938. The Republican message found responsive audiences among such people.

During the 1938 campaigns in general, the Republicans chided the Democrats for their spendthrift administrations. But the immediacy of the 1937 recession—itsself contributing to the deficits—enabled the Democrats to cite their record in public health, old age assistance, and school construction legislation, and to point out the necessity for continued poor relief. This identification of deficit spending with humanitarian programs posed a problem for Republican strategists forced to campaign in large cities and other depression-stricken areas. In Michigan, at least, the G.O.P. adapted its tactics to the situation, and during the final two weeks of the campaign Fitzgerald emphasized his interest in social legislation and promised to continue existing programs—under more efficient management.²⁷ The Murphy administration was also condemned for employing relief funds to secure partisan ends by restoring summer payment reductions shortly before the election.²⁸ The Democratic candidate, in turn, accused Fitzgerald of “a kind of trickery that should not be practiced on silent, well-meaning people” in leading Detroit Townsendites to believe that he favored their program after having equivocated on the issue during his primary

²⁶See, for example, *Detroit Free Press*, November 8, 1938 (full page advertisement), October 25, 1938 (editorial, “Which Way Michigan?”); James A. Gallery, editor, *Tuscola County Advertiser*, Caro, to the author, December 24, 1955; Roy Hamlin, editorial projects director, *Monroe Evening News*, to the author, December 21, 1955.

²⁷The *Detroit Free Press*, October 29, 1938, contains an exchange over the unbalanced budget. For Fitzgerald's proposed social welfare program, see the *Flint Journal*, November 2, 1938. Former Republican Governor Chase Osborn, who had bolted his party to support Theodore Roosevelt in 1912, declared for Murphy in 1938, citing the latter's record on social legislation. See the *Flint Journal*, October 25, 1938. The Republican dilemma—how best to attack Democratic spending while pledging to retain social services—remains to this day.

²⁸*Flint Journal*, October 15, 1938. Republicans charged that accompanying the new allotments was a statement which declared the increase to be “in compliance with instructions from Governor Frank Murphy.”

campaign and despite the Republican state convention's refusal to commit the party to its support. The "Townsend Plan," one of many social panaceas propounded in the thirties, was not economically practicable; but it attracted enough support to become politically explosive. The social pressures underlying it were produced by the depression-generated insecurities of older people in particular.²⁹

While the aforesaid issues were widely debated during the campaign, two other and interrelated ones drew more attention than all the others combined. And, as the gubernatorial race progressed, Governor Murphy's handling of the 1937 sit-down strikes and the alleged communist infiltration of American life became, as during the crisis of the previous year, the foci of national controversy.

The great wave of work stoppages which paralyzed the automobile industry during the first months of 1937 actually was under way before Governor Murphy's inauguration; and the outbreaks were not confined to Michigan.³⁰ But the key battle was waged in Michigan during the first months of the Murphy administration. While negotiations progressed fitfully in Washington, D.C., and Michigan, workers occupied and held the key General Motors plants in Flint, ostensibly to prevent the movement of vital equipment to nonstriking factories, but also to sustain the strikers' morale

²⁹Detroit *Free Press*, November 7, 1938; Detroit *Labor News*, October 21, 1938. Townsendites in the Thirteenth Congressional District, as far as the writer can determine, remained neutral in the gubernatorial campaign. They rejected Representative George D. O'Brien (Democrat), whom they had supported in 1936, in favor of Clarence McLeod, his opponent in the earlier campaign. O'Brien suffered a 6.8 per cent decline in percentage strength; while Murphy fell but 2.6 per cent in the same district. Other factors may have contributed to this difference.

³⁰Workers struck General Motors' Atlanta plant as early as December 18, 1936, and production was halted at Fisher Body plants No. 1 and No. 2 in Flint twelve days later. For a recent account of the sit-downs, see George D. Blackwood, "The Sitdown Strike in the Thirties" in the *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 55:438-48 (October, 1956). Murray Kempton, *Part of our Time: Some Ruins and Monuments of the Thirties*, chapter 9 (New York, 1955), provides the reader with a vivid description of the tension that marked the sit-downs. J. Woodford Howard, Jr., "Frank Murphy and the Sit-down Strikes of 1937" in *Labor History*, 1:103-40 (Spring, 1960), appeared subsequent to the writing of the present article. Professor Howard's discussion of the sit-down crisis is sound; he refers briefly to the issue as raised during the 1938 campaign.

during a winter struggle. These seizures completely disrupted the General Motors industrial complex. Other assembly plants were forced to close, as were suppliers of parts and accessories for the automotive industry. The nation witnessed a wave of sit-downs as workers in other fields employed similar tactics.

Within Michigan, and elsewhere in the nation, reactions to the strikes were violent. The press charged that the sit-down represented an illegal seizure of property, that union thugs were fomenting violence, and that the action of a minority of workers was crippling an industry and jeopardizing the tender roots of business recovery.³¹ During the first week of 1937, General Motors secured an injunction ordering evacuation of the Flint plants. But Governor Murphy refused the request of Genesee County Sheriff Thomas Wolcott for state troops to supplement local agencies in enforcing Judge Gadola's writ. Murphy, who had ordered National Guard units into the area to maintain order, explained that while he could not admit the legality of the sit-down, any attempt to recapture the plants would result in bloodshed. Continued negotiation, he suggested, would produce a settlement. Less than a week later an agreement was reached ending the strike. While some criticized the governor's action, or inaction, most seemed convinced of the wisdom of his policy.³²

Repeated outbursts of antilabor violence marked the following months of 1937 in various areas of the state. One was killed and

³¹Detroit *Free Press*, January 13, 1937, January 21, 1937; *Flint Journal*, February 1, 1937. The press gave prominent display to the denunciatory sermons and statements of clergymen. And, in Washington, it was later reported, the government's acquiescence in the sit-downs precipitated the first open split between the liberal and conservative wings of the Democracy and, personally, between President Roosevelt and Vice President Garner. See Arthur Krock in the *New York Times*, October 27, 1938, November 10, 1938; also *Business Week*, n.v.:14 (November 12, 1938). Democratic intra-party strife during this period requires and deserves detailed study. The famous "court-packing" embroglio may be revealed as but the occasion on which conservative Democrats, already disgruntled with New Deal social and economic policies, felt they could make their stand, as cries of executive usurpation and demands for the preservation of the Supreme Court's sanctity clearly placed Roosevelt at a disadvantage.

³²*Flint Journal*, February 12, 1937; *Flint Weekly Review*, November 4, 1938; *Survey Graphic*, 26:464 (September, 1937). Harold M. Baker, publisher of the *Sanilac Republican*, declared that "... we want vigorous action. . . . Do you recall a single case of bloodshed when a sufficient force of troops displayed the shining blades of bayonets?"

twenty-five wounded as vigilantes broke up a strike of lumber workers at Newberry. The bitter "Little Steel" strike was fought out in Michigan, too, as the steel workers' organization committee attempted to unionize the Republic Steel plant at Monroe. The steel company held Monroe by employing the "Mohawk Valley Formula" to organize civic and small businessmen's groups to turn public opinion against the strike while recruiting local citizens to battle the organizers.³³ Later in the spring, Walter Reuther and Richard Frankensteen of the United Automobile Workers of America (UAWA) were beaten up by Ford agents in the "battle of the overpass."

On the other hand, union men marched upon Lansing on June 7, 1937, and an afternoon of demonstrations was climaxed by a melee with Michigan State University students. Governor Murphy was sharply criticized for not employing state police to break up the so-called "Lansing labor holiday." A strike against the Consumers Power Company was climaxed by a union move which temporarily shut off power in the Saginaw Valley. Labor also attempted to prove its new-found strength in political action. In June, 1937, the political action committee nominated a slate of candidates for Detroit's municipal elections. But the labor ticket was soundly defeated in the fall canvass, and the frustrated effort served only to generate additional tension in Michigan.³⁴

The rapid strides taken by the Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO) toward the unionization of heavy industry were viewed with consternation in many quarters during 1937-38. The sit-down,

³³The *Detroit Labor News* of June 18, 1937, asserted that Representative Clare Hoffman of Allegan had declared he would "raise an army of Allegan citizens to march on Monroe and 'protect' it" during the strikes there. For an incisive discussion of Representative Hoffman and of his district, see Stephen K. Bailey, *Congress Makes A Law: The Story Behind the Employment Act of 1946*, 198-200 (New York, 1950).

³⁴*Newsweek*, 10:12-13 (October 18, 1937). Samuel Lubell, *The Future of American Politics*, 195 (New York, 1951), points out the apparent limitations of labor voting strength, even in a union stronghold such as Detroit. Labor candidates garnered 37 per cent of the vote in the mayoralty election of 1937, and could do no better than 45 per cent in 1943, 44 per cent in 1945, and 40 per cent in 1947. The Saginaw Valley strike was one of the episodes employed as a test case by a sociologist as he investigated public attitudes toward labor-management struggles during the depression. See Alfred Winslow Jones, *Life, Liberty, and Property: A Story of Conflict and a Measurement of Conflicting Rights*, esp. 358-59 (Philadelphia, 1941).

with its challenge to widely-held concepts of property rights, and the violence which accompanied organization drives, caused many to fear union "radicalism." These feelings were increased by labor's invasion of Detroit's traditionally nonpartisan municipal elections. And when the chief executive of the state which had experienced these profound developments was clearly in sympathy with organized labor's cause—if not with its alleged excesses—it is hardly surprising that his conduct became a major political issue.

The governor expressed his willingness to discuss the stand he had taken at the time of the Flint strikes; indeed, early in the campaign, he seemed intent upon carrying the fight to his rival. Murphy challenged Fitzgerald to debate the issue; his opponent declined the invitation. The Republican campaign manager countered with a suggestion that would have pitted Murphy and Homer Martin and Richard Frankenstein, both of the United Auto Workers, against Fitzgerald, a representative of the American Federation of Labor and a Catholic priest.⁸⁵ Governor Murphy, surprising no one, ignored the counter-proposal.

As the race progressed, it became evident that whatever the governor's inclination toward discussing his role in the events of 1937, Fitzgerald was basing his campaign on the strike issue. The Republican candidate told inhabitants of the Upper Peninsula's depression-ridden mining region that strikes in Flint automobile plants meant reduced orders for copper and unemployment in the pits. He informed a Flint audience that industries, faced with uncertain labor conditions, were abandoning the state. Taking up the cry, the Tuscola County *Adviser* commented upon the decision of a Detroit auto seat-cover plant to relocate in Georgia and declared that

if this happens, we feel that a part of Michigan's loss must be laid directly at the door of Governor Murphy who has encouraged strikers to take possession of plants and attempt to dictate to employers.⁸⁶

Murphy defended himself by pointing out that William Knudsen, president of General Motors, and other business leaders had con-

⁸⁵Detroit *Free Press*, September 24, 1938, September 28, 1938. On the latter date, the *Free Press* editorially decried Murphy's request for a debate.

⁸⁶Flint *Journal*, November 4, 1938; see also J. A. Gallery to the author, December 24, 1955.

gratulated him for his handling of the strike situation. And, in retrospect, it seems likely that had Murphy employed force during February, 1937, bloodshed and the destruction of property would have ensued. At the time, most were grateful that this had not occurred. But, months later, people remembered that property rights had been violated and personal rights threatened while a pro-labor governor refused to call out troops to enforce a court order restraining the unions.

Closely related to the charges leveled at Governor Murphy over his handling of labor disputes were accusations, incorporated into the Republican platform, that his administration had permitted communists to infiltrate labor unions, commit excesses, and influence governmental policies. When the Michigan Communist party decided against running state-wide candidates, but called upon all progressives to unite behind Murphy in an effort to defeat "Ford, General Motors and their candidate Fitzgerald and to block the road to fascism and war," Republicans depicted the governor as a tool of communist policy.³⁷ Fitzgerald never accused his opponent of being a communist, or even, in the terminology of a later period, of "fellow-traveling." But he did declare that Murphy's policies had served the communists well and that the governor had earned their support. Murphy repeatedly denied this; although unaccountably he refused to repudiate the communist endorsement until he spoke out on the subject during the last week of the campaign.³⁸

³⁷*Detroit Free Press*, September 30, 1938, October 25, 1938. The *Free Press* kept readers abreast of communist meetings and reported their anti-Fitzgerald statements.

³⁸Democratic strategists were concerned about the effect of the communist endorsement on Murphy's campaign. Supporters urged him to issue a statement which might allay doubts over this matter. See F.D.R.L., O.F.300, Election Forecasts. . . , 1938, *Michigan Folder*, John C. Lehr to James A. Farley, October 31, 1938. See also F.D.R.L., President's Personal File on Frank Murphy [hereafter cited as P.P.F. 1662], Arthur D. Maguire to the Most Rev. Monsignor Joseph Corrigan, November 22, 1938. Maguire wrote to Monsignor Corrigan, Rector of the Catholic University of America, suggesting that Governor Murphy be awarded an honorary degree. His letter discusses the communist issue as raised in the Michigan campaign and reveals the reactions of one of the governor's Catholic supporters to this development. Harold Ickes reports a 1940 conversation with Murphy in which Murphy revealed deep fears concerning the American Catholic hierarchy's exaggerated fear of communism and the effect of this position on domestic politics. Murphy opined that no more than six Michigan priests had voted for him in 1938. See Harold L. Ickes, *The Secret Diary of*

The controversy received a nation-wide hearing when, on October 18, the House Special Committee on Un-American Activities began hearings in Detroit. The Murphy administration was not subjected to direct criticism during three days of testimony relating to communist subversion in that city. Four days later, however, the picture changed as hearings were resumed in Washington, D.C. Communist agitators, it was charged in testimony before the committee, had played significant roles in fomenting both the "Lansing labor holiday" and the Flint strikes. Even more serious was the doubt cast upon Governor Murphy's conduct during these crises. Lt. Harold Mulbar of the Michigan State Police testified that his organization had been helpless during the Lansing demonstrations because they were empowered to act only with the governor's permission, which was not forthcoming.³⁹ John M. Barringer, former city manager of Flint, testified that the "treasonable attitude" of Governor Murphy and the activities of the La Follette committee had been major factors in the success of the Flint strikes.⁴⁰ Judge Paul V. Gadola claimed that his court order, which instructed the strikers to evacuate the plants, had been flouted by Sheriff Thomas Wolcott and Governor Murphy.⁴¹ Subsequently, the sheriff

Harold L. Ickes, 3:228-29 (New York, 1954). Thus Murphy had been caught in an effective crossfire. Many Protestants, particularly in rural areas, distrusted him as a Catholic; while the emergence of the communist issue frightened many Catholics into opposing the governor.

³⁹Hearings before a Special Committee on Un-American Activities pursuant to H.R. 282. *Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States*, 2:1709-11 (Washington, D.C., 1938); *Detroit Free Press*, October 23, 1938. A full page banner proclaimed: "DIES GROUP TOLD OF FORCED CLOSINGS ON LANSING LABOR HOLIDAY—BLAME PLACED ON MURPHY." Lt. Mulbar later sought to explain police inactivity by pointing out that so few police had been available at the time that action would have been foolish. Governor Murphy did not satisfactorily explain his role in the affair.

⁴⁰*Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States*, 2:1689-91; *New York Times*, October 22, 1938. Barringer had been dismissed by the Flint City Commission for raising a private armed force during the strike.

⁴¹*Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States*, 2:1676. Judge Gadola recalled that he had said "the hell with the Governor" while answering a union lawyer. This led to an amusing exchange with a friendly, if misinformed questioner Representative Harold G. Mosier (D-Ohio): Mosier: "If I may interrupt you there, we do not want to get politics into this, but we do want to get at the truth. It is true, is it not, that the Governor is a Democrat?" Gadola: "Yes." Mosier: "And you are a Democrat?" Gadola: "Not by any means. I am a Republican. As a matter of fact, up until the

denied this accusation, claiming that he had requested troops of the governor in the judge's presence. Wolcott added that he and the judge had known that the Guard would not be employed as long as Murphy believed that negotiations offered some chance for a peaceful settlement.

The Michigan press gave the hearings wide coverage, commenting favorably upon their progress. New Deal Democrats also followed the proceedings carefully and with mounting anger. Finally, President Roosevelt, taking an extraordinary step, condemned the work of Representative Dies and his committee. "I was disturbed," the president declared on October 25,

because a congressional committee . . . permitted itself to be used in a flagrantly unfair and un-American attempt to influence an election . . . they permitted a disgruntled Republican judge, a discharged Republican city manager and a couple of officious police officers to make lurid charges against Governor Frank Murphy.

Representative Dies replied that he regretted the attack by the president, but that "if open and undisguised rebellion is to be countenanced in the name of political expediency, then constitutional democracy in America will perish."⁴²

The Roosevelt-Dies exchange reveals the widening rift between the Democracy's urban-liberal and Southern-conservative factions; the committee's investigation demonstrates the power wielded by the administration's foes.⁴³ The president's defense of Murphy drew fire from Fitzgerald, who raised the issue of federal interference in state affairs. The Republican candidate also scored the

New Deal and the coattail parade, we never had a Democratic judge in Michigan." *The Nation*, 147:443 (October 29, 1938), misquotes the exchange to the disadvantage of both men.

⁴²For the comments of Roosevelt and Dies, see the *New York Times*, October 26, 1938. Fitzgerald's reaction to the president's statement is reported in the same issue.

⁴³Burke, *Olson's New Deal for California*, 29, discusses the committee's attack on liberal Democrats in California. House Resolution 282, establishing the committee, was passed by a vote of 191-41; a request to record yeas and nays was refused. See the *Congressional Record*, 7586 (75 Congress, 3 session) (Washington, D.C., 1938). While the committee proved an effective weapon in the hands of the anti-administration coalition, Representative Samuel Dickstein, Democrat of New York, had pressed for the creation of such a group to combat mounting pro-Nazi activity. During this period, administration critics charged that the La Follette investigators had sought to discredit the business community for partisan ends.

Democratic primary "purges" in addresses during the closing stages of the campaign.⁴⁴

President Roosevelt struck a final blow in Murphy's behalf during his customary pre-election broadcast. The president, as usual, endorsed the New York Democratic ticket during this speech, but after a general appeal for the election of liberal candidates in other states, he departed from custom by specifically praising Governor Murphy's conduct during the sit-down crisis. Roosevelt's radio effort, however welcome, was less than Murphy had hoped for that summer. As early as May 6, the governor invited the president to the dedication ceremonies of the Blue Water International Bridge at Port Huron. Roosevelt, while assuring Murphy that he would make a great effort to attend, refused to commit himself. Finally, the president informed the governor that he would be unable to visit Michigan that fall. Murphy had hoped that in this eventuality Roosevelt would address the dedication assemblage by radio. This, too, was ruled out; but the president agreed to send a message to be read at the ceremonies. The governor felt this to be "quite adequate." Roosevelt also parried questions during summer press conferences on his rumored trip to Michigan. He was more direct, however, as he scored Detroit newspapers for suggesting that his decision not to travel to Michigan had been influenced by the political campaign. This, he said, was an "unjustified, absolutely unjustified assumption"; worse still, it was "a deliberate distortion of the fact."⁴⁵ But if President Roosevelt did not journey to Michigan to succor the embattled Murphy, other administration spokesmen joined the fray. In addition to Henry Wallace, Harold L. Ickes, Thomas Corcoran, and Fiorello LaGuardia spoke in support

"Detroit *Free Press*, October 27, 1938. Earlier, Governor Murphy, in a startling but shrewd move, had telegraphed congratulations to Senator Walter George of Georgia when the latter won his primary fight against Roosevelt's opposition. See the *Free Press*, September 21, 1938. The Monroe *Evening News* argued that the president's support of Murphy was cause for opposing the latter. Roy Hamlin to the author, December 21, 1955.

"F.D.R.L., P.P.F. 1662, Frank Murphy to Roosevelt, May 6, 1938; Roosevelt to Murphy, May 13, 1938, October 5, 1938. See also F.D.R.L., *Press Conferences*, 11:458-59 (June 18, 1938), 12:27 (August 16, 1938), 12:70-71 (September 2, 1938). Arthur Krock reports that, following the election, Murphy told him that he had been disappointed by Roosevelt's failure to take a more active role in the campaign. Author's interview with Arthur Krock of the *New York Times*, December 29, 1958.

of the governor; while Senator Prentiss Brown of Michigan disclosed that the national government was planning to build the much discussed Straits of Mackinac bridge. This project would improve transportation to the Upper Peninsula, thereby increasing income from tourism, and the construction itself would have increased employment. This announcement of federal spending plans was probably intended to convince doubtful voters of the beneficence of government—Democratic government.⁴⁶

The business community was not the only group which felt itself menaced by the CIO's unionization drive during the mid-thirties. The new labor organization also posed a threat to the older, craft-oriented, and conservative American Federation of Labor. The AF of L, reacting to this development, displayed an ambivalent attitude toward the governor whose inaction had benefited its competitor during the Flint strikes. The Michigan Federation of Labor endorsed Governor Murphy's candidacy, and the Wayne County Federation was active in his behalf; but some Federation officials clearly resented Murphy's encouragement of their rivals. The executive council of the AF of L unanimously endorsed the Dies' committee hearings, and John P. Frey of the union testified before the committee on the communists' infiltration of the CIO. A Michigan local which had condemned the hearings was compelled to retract its resolution. And the Federation's Jackson newspaper attacked the sit-downs while criticizing those politicians who had permitted them to continue.⁴⁷

⁴⁶President Roosevelt was more cautious in his statement on the federal government's position in regard to the bridge's construction. See F.D.R.L., *Press Conferences*, 12:186 (October 25, 1938).

⁴⁷Flint *Weekly Review*, September 9, 1938; *Detroit Labor News*, August 26, 1938; and *Jackson Square Deal*, September 16, 1938. The AF of L opposed the CIO and/or administration-supported candidates in Pennsylvania, Iowa, Georgia, New York, Ohio, and Texas primaries. In Ohio, Governor Davey was commended for using the National Guard during the "Little Steel" strike. President William Green of the AF of L boasted of his union's role in defeating Rep. Maury Maverick, a liberal, in the Texas Democratic primary. In California, Green endorsed the Republican gubernatorial candidate against the wishes of state AF of L leaders. The political struggle between the CIO and the AF of L during this period merits attention. While no single comprehensive account exists, William H. Riker, *The CIO in Politics, 1936-1946*, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Harvard University, 1948; and Morton H. Leeds, *The American Federation of Labor in National Politics, 1938-1948*, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, New School for Social Research, 1950, are useful. Leeds points out that the struggle was also fought out in

If conservative union men were forced to choose between Murphy, backed by the CIO, and the Republican opposition, radical unionists within the United Auto Workers faced a different dilemma: whether to support the Democratic gubernatorial candidate or run a socialist for the office. The choice, difficult at best, was made no easier by the dissension which wracked the auto union during this period. Union president Homer Martin, and Jay Lovestone, who had been a leading American communist until his expulsion from the party in 1929, found themselves opposed by a "Unity" caucus, composed of aggressive union politicians, communists, and Walter Reuther, and backed by John L. Lewis. While Norman Thomas supported Martin, Michigan socialists condemned the union head for allying himself with Southern conservatives and sought some position between the extremes. In the end, Reuther abandoned his communist backers and gained the support of Lewis and Sidney Hillman—at a price. He was instructed to break with the socialists and to support Murphy's candidacy. Socialists subsequently worked out a kind of compromise. As unionists they were forced by pressure and by the interests of their organization to endorse Murphy; among socialists they backed Socialist party candidates. The national party disapproved of this arrangement, and the Michigan socialists finally ran their own gubernatorial candidate.⁴⁸

Farm groups, as well as business interests and conservative union leaders, took a dim view of the recently formed CIO and resented the Democratic governor's benevolence toward this organization which threatened to disrupt accepted relationships in the state's economic and political power structure. Agrarians, in fact, may have been angered more by these developments than by the Roose-

the Department of Justice and in the National Labor Relations Board. Other facets of labor's internecine strife are illumined by James O. Morris, *The Origins of the CIO: A Study of Conflict within the Labor Movement, 1921-1938*, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Michigan, 1954; also Delbert D. Arnold, *The CIO's Role in American Politics, 1936-1948*, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Maryland, 1952.

⁴⁸The author has based this paragraph on Daniel Bell's perceptive essay, "The Background and Development of Marxian Socialism in the United States" in Donald Drew Egbert and Stow Persons, editors, *Socialism and American Life*, 1:388-91 (Princeton, N. J., 1952). The Socialists polled their lowest vote since 1928, and received a smaller share of the total canvass than in any earlier twentieth century gubernatorial campaign in which they had participated.

velt administration's farm legislation. The annual convention of the Michigan State Grange at Allegan provided the opportunity for a public airing of such feelings. Grange rules forbade any discussion of partisan or political issues, and during the first days of the convention attempts to pass resolutions condemning the federal corn control policy were blocked. But the convention did approve a resolution which branded sit-down strikes as illegal, and declared that "any officer of this commonwealth, high or low, who gives them aid and comfort . . . should be condemned."⁴⁹ The implications of this declaration—and reversal of policy—seem clear. The statement was, however, but a dramatic expression of sentiments long felt in rural Michigan, for farmers had earlier volunteered to police the turbulent strikes at Monroe and, during legislative hearings relative to proposed labor legislation, farm groups had argued in behalf of measures curbing strikes.⁵⁰

On November 8, 1938, the Republicans toppled the administration of Frank Murphy, while gaining control of both houses of the Michigan legislature.⁵¹ Fitzgerald required no great switch in the political preference of Michigan's electorate to reverse the decision of 1936, for Murphy had achieved his initial victory by a narrow margin, trailing President Roosevelt on the Democratic ticket by some 268,000 ballots.⁵²

⁴⁹*Detroit Free Press*, October 29, 1938. The Grange also supported the gasoline and truck levy amendment, opposed the welfare reorganization plan, and asked the legislature to prevent tampering with school funds.

⁵⁰The editor of the *Tuscola County Advertiser* feels that farmers in his area were more disturbed by labor unrest than by falling prices or the Dies' committee hearings. J. A. Gallery to the author, December 24, 1955. For other incidents involving agrarian hostility toward strikes, see Saloutos and Hicks, *Agricultural Discontent in the Middle West*, 526; and the *New York Times*, April 8, 1937. Kenneth H. Parsons, "Farmers and Organized Labor" in the *Journal of Farm Economics*, 25:367-83 (May, 1943) also deserves attention. McKee, *Analysis of the Power Structure of Organized Agriculture in Michigan*, a fine sociological study, provided this writer with insights into the problem under consideration.

⁵¹Fitzgerald polled 847,245 votes to Murphy's 753,752. Minor party candidates received but 4,244 ballots. Fitzgerald led Murphy by 93,493, nearly doubling Murphy's 1936 plurality of 48,919. Luren Dickinson and Vernon Brown, Republican candidates for Lieutenant Governor and Auditor General, respectively, received greater pluralities than did Fitzgerald. The Republicans captured the Michigan Legislature, gaining eight Senate and thirty-four House seats to give them margins of 23-9 and 74-26, respectively.

⁵²Roosevelt led Landon by 317,061 votes in 1936. Comstock and Van Wagoner also triumphed in presidential election years, but neither was

During the 1930's, the Michigan Democratic party's strength was concentrated in a handful of counties. As late as 1930, the Democrats secured majorities in but three of the state's eighty-three counties. William A. Comstock swept forty-four additional counties into the Democratic column as he captured the governorship in 1932. All but eleven were lost as Fitzgerald recaptured the governorship for the Republicans two years later. Comstock was the only Democratic gubernatorial candidate during the 1930's to win a majority of the state's counties—but this did not always prove fatal for the Democracy. In 1936, Murphy carried only twenty-one counties, yet polled 51 per cent of the vote; four years later, Van Wagoner received 53 per cent of the ballots cast while adding but three counties to this total.⁵³

Two widely separated areas provided the hard core of Michigan Democratic strength in the mid-thirties. A group of counties in the state's Upper Peninsula moved into the Democratic fold early in the depression and remained there through the vicissitudes of the following decade. Five counties in this bloc: Gogebic, Dickinson, Houghton, Marquette, and Keweenaw, were classified as mining areas.⁵⁴ Their iron and copper mines had been worked out or were of low productivity; many had been forced to the wall during the depression. The relief burden was inordinately high in these counties; 43 per cent of the total population had received assistance during 1933-34, and over 30 per cent remained on relief rolls as late as 1938. Ontonagon, Baraga, Menominee, Delta, and Alger counties also leaned toward the Democrats during this period.

wholly dependent upon the magic in Roosevelt's name. Comstock ran ahead of F.D.R. by 59,000 votes in 1932; while Van Wagoner won by over 130,000 votes in 1940, even as Willkie carried the state by 7,000. On the other hand, presidential campaigns were marked by high voter turn-outs, and this condition generally favored the Democrats. In this sense, the state ticket benefited from the national campaign.

⁵³This development parallels that in national politics. In Michigan, Democratic candidates depended increasingly on the state's heavily populated urban counties as rural and small-town voters returned to the Republican party. Nationally, Roosevelt carried 85 fewer counties in 1936 than in 1932, even as his share of the total vote climbed from 57.4 per cent to 60.2 per cent. The Democrats suffered a net loss of 689 counties in 1940, and a further decline of 197 in 1944.

⁵⁴Economic classifications are based upon Marvin A. Bacon, "Income as an Index of the Fiscal Capacity of Michigan Counties" in *Michigan Governmental Studies*, No. 8, 7 (Ann Arbor, 1941).

This lumbering region's forests had been ruthlessly stripped and the fruit of exploitation was economic stagnation. State Highway Commissioner Murray D. Van Wagoner regarded the Upper Peninsula as his bailiwick; but the area's shift toward the Democracy antedated his rise to power, and the region remained loyal to Murphy's cause at a time when Van Wagoner had assumed, at the very least, an enigmatic position. These political developments reflected reactions to the depression rather than the organizational efforts of the commissioner.

If the essentially nonurban Upper Peninsula counties constituted one foundation of Democratic strength, areas characterized by large-scale industry and urban population concentrations provided the second. These counties were of great political importance as they accounted for a crucial share of the state's total vote; Wayne County alone cast 37 per cent of all Michigan ballots during this period. In 1938, Governor Murphy lost ground in these counties. The pattern of defections from the Democracy suggests that the electorate, or at least significant elements thereof, was sensitive to the related issues of labor aggrandizement and communist influence in government.

An analysis of returns from the eleven counties in which were located the fifteen largest cities of the state sheds light upon this situation. Democratic strength was, in general, concentrated in the major urban centers of these counties. Murphy's share of the urban vote dropped in each of these cities, albeit less sharply in most cases than in rural areas. And in 1938, as during 1936, a smaller proportion of eligible voters actually cast ballots in the cities than in the surrounding countryside. Finally, the "off-year" vote declined more sharply in urban areas. Thus the Republicans, although still the minority urban party, captured a larger share of a smaller city vote, even as they tightened their grip upon a rural electorate which was more active than its urban counterpart. In this situation, the Republicans easily wiped out the emaciated urban pluralities of the Democrats. As has been pointed out, the Democrats had captured rural Michigan only in 1932, when farm and city dwellers alike voted "no confidence" in Republican administrations. Subsequent Democratic candidates were forced to

campaign in the face of rural Republican pluralities. Heightening this traditional antipathy toward the Democracy in 1938 was discontent with farm policy in general and with the corn control program in particular.⁵⁵ But the actions of farmers during the strikes of 1937, the stand taken by the Grange, the statements of newspaper editors close to the scene, and voting patterns in the Monroe and Flint-Saginaw Valley regions suggest the prolabor stand of the Murphy administration played a more important role in shaping the decision of rural voters.⁵⁶

Genesee County, battleground of the Flint sit-downs, offers the most striking illustration of the Democratic decline. The county had been one of four in the state to give Murphy over 60 per cent of its two-party vote in the 1936 canvass; he had carried both Flint and the district's outlying areas. The governor captured Flint for a second time in 1938 but by a greatly reduced margin. And Murphy's emasculated urban plurality was washed away by a tide of Republican ballots from the rest of the county. Voter interest ran high in strike-torn Genesee, for although there was a state-wide "off year" decline of 8.3 per cent in voting, participation in Flint fell but 4.2 per cent while elsewhere in the county a 6.0 per cent increase was registered.⁵⁷ Sheriff Thomas Wolcott's successful campaign for re-election further reveals the tension which marked the voting in the county. Opposed by the UAWA and

⁵⁵The Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 effected five Michigan counties. The Democratic loss of percentage strength in these counties was: Branch, -11.2; Hillsdale, -8.7; Lenawee, -7.7; Monroe, -10.9; and St. Joseph, -7.8.

⁵⁶The Monroe *Evening News*, the county's sole daily newspaper, emphasized labor radicalism, budget deficits, and Roosevelt's friendship for Murphy as it endorsed Fitzgerald's candidacy. Roy Hamlin to the author, December 21, 1955. The Democratic loss of percentage strength in the city of Monroe was 8.1 per cent, as compared to 12.2 per cent in the rest of the county. Voter turnout declined 6.2 per cent in the city and 2.6 per cent in other areas. The county's decline, but 3.8 per cent, was much less than in the other corn counties where voting fell off by 12.6 per cent in Lenawee, 13.8 per cent in Branch, 14.7 per cent in Hillsdale, and 17.4 per cent in St. Joseph.

⁵⁷Genesee's total vote declined by but 1.3 per cent. In order to compensate for the lower voter participation associated with "off year" elections, the writer has measured election shifts in terms of Democratic loss (or gain) of percentage strength. A second compilation measures the percentage decline (or rise) in voter participation. The 1938 Democratic vote is expressed as a percentage of total votes cast. The writer prepared, but has not included in this paper, figures relating to the degree of participation in the 1936 and 1938 canvasses.

the Genesee Federation of Labor because of his actions during the sit-downs, and a Democrat running against the Republican tide, Wolcott polled more votes in the county than did any other candidate for any office.

Wayne County and Detroit presented another picture during the campaign. Although the Democrats lost some ground, they maintained their hold upon the county by a safe margin; while in Detroit the Republicans scored only negligible gains. There had been tension during labor's attempt to capture the reins of Detroit's government during 1937, but the city had not experienced a crippling wave of strikes such as had paralyzed Flint earlier in that year. During 1938, the AF of L and the CIO, aware of Murphy's precarious position and realizing that "off year" nonvoting usually was greatest among normally Democratic elements of the electorate, conducted a vigorous campaign in Wayne County to register eligible voters and to assure the participation of those qualified to vote.⁵⁸

An analysis of Detroit returns reveals a polarization of the city's vote in 1938. Governor Murphy lost ground in those districts in which he had fared most poorly in 1936, while gaining in wards which had leaned toward the Democracy in the earlier campaign.⁵⁹ Dr. Edward Litchfield has pointed out that in 1938 there was a greater decline in voting among upper income groups than among poorer groups in the city. But participation still varied according to income level; and the importance to the Democrats of organization may be seen in their tendency to lose most heavily in districts in which the total vote fell off sharply.⁶⁰ On the other hand,

⁵⁸In his post-election report, the chairman of the Wayne County Democratic Committee praised the efforts of the county's labor unions in Murphy's behalf. He added that he was satisfied the AF of L had not been as co-operative in out-state areas. See F.D.R.L., O.F.300, Election Forecasts, . . ., 1938, *Michigan Folder*, Harry H. Mead to James A. Farley, December 24, 1938.

⁵⁹The difference between the weakest and strongest Democratic wards, measured in terms of percentage of Democratic strength, increased from 31.6 per cent in 1936 to 44.9 per cent. If Hamtramck is included in these calculations, the figures stand at 38.9 per cent and 53.3 per cent respectively.

⁶⁰See Edward Litchfield, "Voting Behavior in a Metropolitan Area" in *Michigan Governmental Studies*, No. 7, 15-16 (Ann Arbor, 1941). It would appear that a disproportionate number of the 1938 upper income nonvoters had voted for Murphy in 1936, for the Republicans clearly gained

Democratic ranks held firm in many districts of the city, and in some they increased their share of a larger total vote. These districts were still marked by a relatively low degree of political participation, a reflection of their ethnic and racial composition and of their depressed socio-economic position.

Governor Murphy ran very strongly in low-income districts and in wards in which Polish, Italian, and Negro voters were concentrated.⁶¹ The two nationality groups had tended to vote Democratic before the advent of the New Deal, but increasing numbers of Poles and Italians participated in politics and moved steadily into the ranks of the Democracy during the thirties. While Negro voting rose sharply in 1932, as did the Democrats' strength in Negro areas, this group did not swing into the Democratic column until 1936. Governor Murphy, who had first become popular among Detroit Negroes as a judge, and later as mayor of the city, actually gained ground among Negro voters in 1938. This vote, moreover, gave signs of increasing class consciousness as middle-class Negroes wavered in their support of the Democracy, while lower-income Negroes rewarded Murphy with a greater share of their votes than had been received by any earlier Democratic candidate.⁶² These Detroit returns indicate the degree to which

in these districts. Elsewhere, Litchfield estimates lower, middle, and upper income participation at 73.6 per cent, 76.4 per cent, and 78.2 per cent of registered voters in those respective categories. He further estimates that the Democrats lost 0.4 per cent, 2.8 per cent, and 6.7 per cent in percentage strength among these groups respectively.

⁶¹Flynn, *Detroit Voters—a Thirty Years View*, contains information on the economic, ethnic, and racial composition of Detroit wards. Those with the highest income levels were 2, 16, and 22; while 3, 6, 9, 11, and 13 ranked lowest. Wards 3, 5, 7, 14, and 16 contained major Negro settlements. Poles were concentrated in Hamtramck and wards 9, 11, 13, and 16. The 13th ward also had a large Italian population.

⁶²Litchfield, "Voting Behavior in a Metropolitan Area," 39. The gap between lower and middle class Negro support of the Democrats, measured by the difference in percentage vote for Democratic gubernatorial candidate, was: -3.2 per cent in 1930, +1.7 per cent in 1932, +1.3 per cent in 1934, +7.5 per cent in 1936, and +14.1 per cent in 1938. Litchfield points out that this widening spread was still narrower than that among native-born whites. See also Edward Litchfield, "A Case Study of Negro Political Behavior in Detroit" in *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 5:267-74 (June, 1941). Thomas R. Solomon, *Participation of Negroes in Detroit Elections*, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Michigan, 1939, discusses Murphy's personal appeal among Negroes, but seriously underestimates the permanence of the Negro's move into the Democratic party.

that city's voting behavior differed from other industrial cities and from the state in general.

Reactions to Murphy's defeat varied, and reflected the sharp conflicts which antedated the campaign and which had been exacerbated by the bitterly contested race itself. James A. Farley recalls that, during a subsequent cabinet meeting, President Roosevelt declared that the Michigan setback "was brought about by the Dies committee and its sensationalism in investigating the sit-down strikes." And Representative Dies was later quoted as claiming credit on behalf of his committee for the election's outcome. Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes viewed Murphy's defeat as "the most serious" suffered by the New Deal that fall. On the other hand, William E. Holler, general sales manager of the Chevrolet division of General Motors, informed a New York audience that "the defeat of Governor Murphy . . . should mean a chance for the automobile industry to continue orderly production undisturbed by major labor difficulties." Finally, two rival union leaders could not have overlooked the Michigan canvass as they prepared postelection statements. William Green, head of the AF of L, boasted that

the CIO and its political dummy, Labor's Non-Partisan League, were routed . . . on all fronts. . . . The voters turned against every candidate who gave aid or comfort to the CIO leadership even in states where the CIO concentrated its campaign.

Philip Murray of the United Steel Workers lamented that labor had yet to break down the antiunion prejudices of farmers.⁶³

⁶³James A. Farley, *Jim Farley's Story: The Roosevelt Years*, 149 (New York, 1948); Dies' statement may be found in Thomas C. McClintock, *The House Committee on Un-American Activities: An Historical Analysis, 1938-1948*, 67, unpublished M.A. Thesis, Columbia University, 1950; Ickes, *The Secret Diary of Harold L. Ickes*, 2:498-99; *New York Times*, November 10, 1938; and *Time*, 32:14 (November 21, 1938). Ickes felt that the Catholic issue, the Dies' investigation, and the defection of Highway Commissioner "Van Swerengen" [sic] had contributed to Murphy's defeat. The governor attributed his setback to the recession of 1937, itself the result of curtailed federal spending. Labor troubles, he conceded, also had been a factor; they were, he contended, of secondary importance. See F.D.R.L., O.F.300, Election Forecasts. . . , 1938, *Michigan Folder*, Frank Murphy to James A. Farley, December 7, 1938.

Ironically, Frank Fitzgerald's victory was short-lived, for he died on March 16, 1939, and was succeeded by Lieutenant Governor Luren Dickinson. The Republican party, its victory more lasting than that of its leader, translated that triumph into legislation during the 1939 session of the state legislature. In the field of labor-management relations, it passed the Michigan Labor Mediation Act of 1939. The law provided for compulsory strike mediation, and outlawed sit-downs as well as the intimidation of "other employees for the purpose of inducing them to join a union or preventing them from working." Thus Michigan became one of the first states to curb the activities of labor unions following their period of rapid growth during the mid-thirties.⁶⁴ This state legislation heralded federal enactments such as the Smith-Connally War Labor Disputes Act of 1942 and the Taft-Hartley Labor Management Relations Act of 1947, the latter climaxing the reversal of those policies which had their foundations in the Wagner National Labor Relations Act of 1935. The Michigan legislature also passed a measure reorganizing the state's welfare machinery, a step necessitated by the electorate's rejection of the Murphy administration's program.⁶⁵ And a blow was dealt to Murphy's civil service program as some eleven thousand state employees were deprived of the protection of civil service classifications. While the welfare and civil service programs undone in 1939 had been enacted during Murphy's regime, both had received attention from the first Fitzgerald administration. That Republican governor had created study commissions to report on these matters, thereby paving

⁶⁴See Sanford Cohen, *State Labor Legislation, 1937-1939: A Study of State Laws Affecting the Conduct and Organization of Labor Unions*, 30 (Columbus, Ohio, 1948). Charles C. Killingsworth, *State Labor Relations Acts: A Study of Public Policy* (Chicago, 1948), provides a thorough treatment of this broad subject and offers specific comments on the background of the 1939 legislation in Michigan and other states. Oregon, Washington, and California voters passed on union-restricting measures in 1938. Oregon was the only state which approved such legislation.

⁶⁵Arthur Dunham, *The Michigan Welfare Reorganization Act of 1939: An Analysis*, 44 (Lansing, 1939). Dunham concluded that while "the act . . . obviously has certain constructive features and will make possible certain improvements . . . it contains also so many ambiguities, so many defects, and so many provisions for unsound forms of organization and administration that it is a discredited . . . to the state."

the way for Murphy's actions. Fitzgerald appears to have been more liberal in these matters than was his party's legislative majority.⁶⁶

In retrospect it can be seen that the 1938 Michigan gubernatorial campaign, and the "off year" elections in general, revealed the increasing hostility felt among many groups toward policies identified with the leadership of the Democratic party. The Democracy itself was divided by these conflicts, as conservative and Southern members reacted against the administration's position vis-a-vis organized labor and in opposition to the implications of its economic and social programs in general. This intraparty strife, which had flared up in 1937 during the "court-packing" fight, or, if reports are accurate, as early as the sit-down crisis, continued as the administration unsuccessfully moved to "purge" dissident Democrats during the 1938 primaries, while anti-New Deal forces employed the Dies committee to harass their foes.⁶⁷ The abortive third party movement launched in Michigan by conservative Democrats further indicates the bitterness felt by such people toward the party's New Deal leaders.

The defection of rural, small town, and certain urban elements weakened the hitherto successful Democratic coalition in 1938. In Michigan, where Governor Murphy's position was none too secure, these losses were great enough to topple the Democrats from power. But if this disruption of the New Deal coalition emerges as the most significant result of the 1938 campaign in Michigan, as well as in the nation as a whole, two points must be made to place this development in perspective. In the first place, while the Republicans were able to capitalize on certain

⁶⁶This suggests the value of a separate study of the sources of Republican legislative strength. Legislators who represent rural and small town constituencies can afford to disregard the needs of urban areas more easily than candidates who must offer themselves to the entire state's electorate. Urban centers carry more weight in statewide elections than in legislatures where they are frequently underrepresented. The intraparty struggles between "modern" and "old guard" Republicans and between "New Deal" Democrats and those of a conservative stripe reflect, in good measure, this situation.

⁶⁷The death of Senate majority leader Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas during the Supreme Court struggle precipitated another conflict. Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky, who was backed by the administration, won out by a vote of 38-37 over Pat Harrison of Mississippi to succeed to the post.

Democratic policies, they also realized the political danger, particularly in urban areas, of demanding outright reversal of fundamental socio-economic legislation introduced by the Democrats. Thus Fitzgerald, who assailed spendthrift government, declared that he would administer more efficiently rather than seek to undo Murphy's relief and welfare program.

Secondly, the election reveals that although the Republicans had made sufficient inroads into Murphy's support to unseat him, the ferment of the depression decade was creating new and important sources of Democratic strength in Michigan. Lower income groups in general, unionized industrial labor, Italians, Poles, and Negroes—all showed increased political awareness during this period. They voted in increasing numbers, and tended to give larger shares of that vote to the political party which seemed to recognize best their frustrations and reflect their aspirations. These elements provided the Democrats, even in defeat, with an electoral base from which subsequent campaigns could be launched and, since 1948, carried through to success.⁶⁸

⁶⁸On the post-World War II decline of the Republicans, read Duncan Norton-Taylor, "What's Wrong with Michigan?" in *Fortune*, 52:142-45 and 190 + (December, 1955). For other references, see Peter J. Turano, *Michigan State and Local Government and Politics: A Bibliography* (Ann Arbor, 1955); Nicholas A. Masters and Deil S. Wright, "Trends and Variations in the Two-Party Vote: The Case of Michigan," in the *American Political Science Review*, 52:1078-90 (December, 1958). The author profited from Dr. John H. Fenton's analysis of political alignments in Michigan, "Rural-Urban Factionalism in Michigan, 1948-1957," a paper given at a panel on Rural-Urban Factionalism in the Midwestern States at the Midwest Conference of Political Scientists, April 25, 1958, in Ann Arbor. The author is grateful to Professor Fenton of Michigan State University for making available this study.

Suppose the South Had Won

With an Introduction by Helen Everett

"SUPPOSE THE SOUTH HAD WON" is extracted from *Reminiscences by Personal Friends of General U. S. Grant and the History of Grant's Log Cabin*, compiled by James L. Post (St. Louis, 1904), and is a speech delivered before the Union League of Philadelphia on April 27, 1892, in response to a toast "To the Heroes of the South."¹ Mr. Wise's introduction to his response is omitted. The chairman in introducing Mr. Wise spoke of his descent both from John Sergeant, for whom he was named and whose portrait hung in the Union League, and from another ancestor,

the stern, intrepid Governor of Virginia — whose hand stayed the mad sway of religious fanaticism. The North claims Sergeant; and Virginia has no greater name than of Henry A. Wise. North and South are, therefore, tonight united in the person of our guest, recalling the legend of Prescott, the historian, over whose library door were crossed two muskets — one borne by a Tory ancestor and the other by an ancestor under Washington, as they fought at Bunker Hill. Mr. Wise gave the fervor of his youth to the Confederacy; he gives the wisdom of his manhood to the Union.

John Sergeant Wise was born in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, December, 1846, the son of Henry Alexander Wise, governor of Virginia, 1856-60. His mother was a Philadelphian, daughter of John Sergeant. He attended the Virginia Military Institute 1862-64, and in the latter year fought with the cadets at New Market, Virginia. Shortly after, he was commissioned drill master with the rank of second lieutenant in the Confederate army. He served in Virginia until the end of the war. He graduated in law from the University of Virginia in 1867, and practiced law in Richmond. He captained the Richmond Blues from 1878 to 1882.

¹The editor is grateful to the Honorable George A. Dondero of the Abraham Lincoln Civil War Round Table of Michigan, for suggesting the speech for publication in *Michigan History*; to U. S. Grant, 3rd, Major General, U.S.A., Ret'd., for making available his copy of the book in which the speech appeared and for his aid in resolving some of the editorial problems; and to Mr. Daniel M. Layman, Manager of The Union League of Philadelphia, for furnishing a photo copy of the speech made by John S. Wise in commemoration of the seventieth birthday of Ulysses S. Grant. Editor.

In 1873, he entered politics, joined the Republican party, and encountered the enmity of the conservatives in his home state. In 1888 he moved to New York City and was prominent in important litigation on street railway and electrical problems. He was a popular speaker and author. Some of his works are: Diomed, The Life, Travels, and Observations of a Dog, 1897; The End of the Era, 1899; The Lion's Skin, 1905; and Recollections of Thirteen Presidents, 1906.

He died in 1913 survived by his wife, Evelyn Beverly Douglas of Nashville, Tennessee, the daughter of Hugh Douglas, a Tennessee Unionist, and seven children.

Suppose the South Had Won

John S. Wise

I SOMETIMES AMUSE MYSELF by thinking of what might have happened if the South had won in the Civil War. In the first place many a man who was on either side in that struggle might easily have been on the other side.

That sounds absurd but it is not. Think how many Northern men were South and how many Southern men were North, merely through force of the accidental circumstances surrounding them at the outbreak of hostilities. Robert E. Lee and George H. Thomas, were Lieutenant-Colonel and Major respectively, of the same regiment. Both considered long and patiently which side they would take, and where their duty lay. On every theory of probabilities Lee was the man who would remain with the United States army, and Thomas would go South. By every tradition Lee was a Federalist. The fame of his family had been earned in building up and sustaining the glory of the Union, for which his own blood had been shed in Mexico. He was the pet of General [Winfield] Scott, Commander-in-Chief of the Union armies, and no favorite of [Jefferson] Davis, or [Braxton] Bragg or [William J.] Hardee, the leaders of the Confederacy. Above all, he was identified in every way with the feelings of that closest of all corporations in

America, West Point, and had been taught to yield first allegiance to the Union. Thomas remained in the North. Lee went South. There was no telling, at that time, on which side men would fetch up. [John C.] Pemberton and [Mansfield] Lovell, both Northern men, cast their fortunes with the South.

Within three weeks of the actual outbreak of hostilities, one of those who afterwards became famous as a Federal commander was so earnest in his advocacy of the Southern view that Southerners expected him to join them. I refer to that great, true, staunch Union soldier, John A. Logan.

Did it ever occur to you that if Lee had decided differently, if he had remained in the North, if General Scott had given him command of the Union army, as he probably would have done, the war would have been ended so quickly that General [Ulysses S.] Grant would never have had the opportunity to display his greatness?

I honestly believe such would have been the case if Lee had not gone South. I believe, that backed by the power and complete equipment the Union would have given him, General Lee would have wiped the armies of the Confederacy off the face of the earth before the date of Vicksburg and Chattanooga. It is no disparagement of Grant to suggest these possibilities. They never occurred. His opportunity did come; and everybody, friend and foe alike, knows how he availed himself of them and proved his greatness.

But we are merely talking about what might have been. It does no harm and costs nothing.

It was not so. Poor old Virginia! Virginia who had done so much to create, to establish, to perpetuate the Union. Virginia, who had produced George Washington, the father of the Union; and John Marshall, the great expounder of the Constitution. Virginia, whose illustrious Scott was at that moment Commander-in-Chief of the Federal armies. Virginia, linked not only by history and every tradition, but by ties of blood and intermarriage, by daily social and business intercourse with states like Pennsylvania. Virginia, who had earned the title of Mother of States and Statesmen by the territory she had given and the sons she had produced, and whose lives had been dedicated to the cause of the Union. She, too, was called upon to decide, and she cast her lot with the

South. Men like Lee, followed her, just as the child who questions not the wisdom of a mother obeys her commands though they be against judgment or inclination.

There is doubtless still something irritating to the northern mind in the clamor of the states like Louisiana and Florida at that time. States that had been redeemed from vassalage to foreign despotism, and bought by the money of the Federal Union, clamoring for their "reserved rights"; but Virginia occupied no such position. She was placed in a trying and difficult situation, with many considerations swaying her to and fro. She was slow to act, and fully conscious of how much the step involved herself and others. In time to come men may wonder why she did at last resolve upon the effort to secede, but the deliberation and reluctance of her steps, the great sacrifices she made, the glorious part she bore, the sad fate which awaited her, will through all time curb and repress the feeling of bitterness or resentment towards Virginia. The wisdom of her decision may be questioned; her honesty, and the honesty of her sons who followed her, are, I hope and believe, above all question.

One thing is certain. If she had not decided to secede, there would not have been any war of secession worth talking about.

Now let us do a little more supposing. Suppose the Southern Confederacy had succeeded, what would have been the result?

Well, of course, we Southern people would not have had to explain so carefully and so frequently why it was we did not succeed. It would have spared us a great deal of wounded pride. Still, I think we have enough left yet for all reasonable purposes.

Outside of these what would have happened? Our first duty would have been to endeavor to discover how much paper money we had issued. God alone knows how much that was. I doubt if we would have finished counting it to this day. Inevitable bankruptcy and repudiation awaited Confederate success.

We could hope for no extended system of railroads. The institution of slavery, which would of course have been perpetuated, was opposed to any such freedom of intercourse. Except at two or three seaports there would have been no chance of large cities. Slavery does not encourage large cities. Manufacturers, bringing great bodies of free laborers would have been equally out of the

question, and the southern free trade doctrines would have prevented their introduction. England would have supplied all our manufactured articles and foreign ships would have transported all our agricultural products. Agriculture would have been the chief employment. The southern planters would have confined themselves to sugar and cotton. The factories of the cities, would, as of old, have advanced even the bacon to feed the slaves, and owned the crops before they were gathered. One half of the young men would have been in the standing armies necessary to protect our long line of frontier and prevent the escape of the slaves, the other half would have been engaged in agriculture pure and simple, or in the professions. Taxation, continuous, heavy, grinding, and insupportable would have dispelled the glorious dreams of southern independence, and long before now the Confederacy would have come to an end.

Under pressure of these conditions the extreme southern states would have made the effort to reopen the slave trade as a means of relief. To this Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri would have never consented. If the movement had been pressed to success they would have seceded. Anybody could secede under the Confederate theory. And one by one, before now, all the old so-called border states would have patched up terms with their northern brethren and have been back in the Union playing Yankee Doodle with all their might, and feeling very comfortable at getting back by the fireside in the old homestead of our fathers; and as they came, the same bright eyes and generous hearts that greet me here tonight, would have rejoiced and wept tears of joy that the Union of our fathers was preserved and that one flag floated over all the people of our land.

Such, fellow citizens, is the way it might have happened, and, in my judgment, would have happened, if it had not happened as it did. Something greater and more powerful than the will of man presided over the destiny of this nation and preserved its unity. In the mysterious Providence of God that unity has been preserved and established in a different and more direct way than that way which I have suggested as a possibility.

To the supreme result we have marched by a route infinitely

more radical, filled with a million corpses, and strewn with wasted treasure. Along the way are seen the wrecks of many hopes, the destruction of many things, the ruins of many ambitions, the abandoned skeletons of dead faiths and superstitions; but at the end is seen a happier, freer, and more united nation than could have been hoped for had the struggle been less fierce, or the sacrifices less complete.

I cannot speak for any other human being but myself when I say, that, although on the losing side in the great fratricidal strife, when I behold how thoroughly it settled all vexed questions, when I realize how fresh and fair and pure the future opens up to every portion of the land, I accept the results without one single regret. I believe the reward is worth every sacrifice of blood and treasure and that all has happened for the best.

I say this without for one instant forgetting the valor and constancy of my Confederate comrades pursuing the right as they saw it. They were no seers. God forgive me if in aught I say, I seem to question the sincerity of their lives and deaths. How could they have lived and died so gloriously unless under the deep conviction that they were right. Grant appreciated this as few others did, and testified to it in every manly way.

It is that which makes every true Confederate soldier venerate Grant's memory and hold his fame next to that of his own commander. The Confederate soldier has come to know Grant as the conscientious, brave, pertinacious upholder of the Union cause, who, fighting to the death for his convictions, was free from all bitterness, and who, when his point had been fully carried, was anxious to forgive and to forget, and to build anew the fabric of fraternal love, without one reminiscent taunt or reproach.

I heard the distinguished Secretary of the Interior speak of Grant as he knew him in his youth. Like him, when I was a boy I knew Grant. But we made his acquaintance in different ways. I first heard his drums beat in the early morning as his interesting army lay in the mists that hung about the beleaguered lines of Petersburg. We believed him to be a mere military butcher, so recklessly bent on carnage that we even hoped his own troops would turn against him for their remorseless slaughter.

I have seen his legions move forward to our assault. I have seen them repulsed, and again have fled before them. He is my old and honored friend, our dearest foe. While war was flagrant we did not fully understand him. It was not until we surrendered to him that we realized how much of noble magnanimity and generosity was mingled with the stern, bloody pluck which crowned him victor.

It was a genuine surprise to see his old foeman, when, almost before they had completed their surrender to him, he seemed more anxious to feed his prisoners from the rations of his own men than he was to secure his captives.

When we expected harsh orders we heard the command that we retain our horses and our sidearms.

When civil prosecutions of our officers were attempted, it was our old foe, Grant, who stood in the breach and demanded that his parole be respected.

When the triumphal armies of the Union entered our deserted capital he refused to taunt his old and honored foeman with a Roman triumph.

And so as the years rolled by the Confederate soldier in his poverty learned to draw near to Grant as his friend, in full assurance that whoever else should chide him for his past there was one great generous heart who held the grimy Johnny Red as second only to his own brave boys in Blue, in right to claim his loving care and tenderness.

Thus it is that I, not as a citizen of the dead Confederacy, or with any lurking regret as to its fate, but as a true and loyal and loving citizen of the United States of America, claim share in this demonstration with privilege of doing honor to myself and to my people, in honoring the memory of Grant.

We have the happiest, the freest, the best nation, that the sun shines upon in his course.

None love it more. None are truer in their allegiance. None more honestly earnest in the hope that it shall be united for all time to come—than the men from whose opposed ranks Grant carved his noble fame, the soldiers of the dead Confederacy.

The Michigan Grayling: 1880 Essay and Letters by Martin Metcalf

Edited and with an Introduction by Robin A. Drews

FROM OUR VANTAGE POINT IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY it is common for us to look back sentimentally on earlier days in Michigan when the streams ran clear and the forests seemed endless. It is both sobering and enlightening to discover that, in reality, by the seventies and early eighties of the last century great numbers of Michigan streams were clogged with sawmill waste and that major portions of the land had been made naked and raw through cutting or burning. In addition, some animals in delicate ecological balance were already in danger of extinction. The celebrated passenger pigeon was one of these but so, also, was the perhaps less well-known Michigan grayling, the "Banner Trout," *Thymallus tricolor* Cope.

Over a half century has passed since David Starr Jordan, the great ichthyologist and for so many years the president of Leland Stanford University, proclaimed the virtual extinction of the fish in his definitive *North American Food and Game Fishes*.¹ Now, after so many years have come and gone, can anything more be added to this brief unfortunate episode in the sorry process defined so succinctly a few years ago by Paul Churcher?

Once upon a time North America was a fairly nice continent furnished with trees, animals and Indians. Then the White Man came, cut down the trees, planted the Indians and harvested the animals . . . in hardly any centuries at all, America's liberators stood, masters of everything except themselves, with one foot on the country's Red men and the other on its trampled flora and the decimated fauna."

Little, it is true, can be added except to provide some historical insight into what thoughtful persons in small number were trying to accomplish in making certain of the nation's resources last

¹David Starr Jordan, *North American Food and Game Fishes* (New York, 1902).

²Paul Churcher, "Red Fox—Resourceful Resource," in the *Michigan Conservation*, 11 (March-April, 1947).

out their lifetimes, even though very few gave these matters any concern. What we can do is to record the struggles of one man, an amateur conservationist, who, along with a handful of other persons, tried to save the beautiful little game fish from extinction. The hero of the story was Martin Metcalf, a prominent citizen of Michigan who died just before the turn of the century. Before we get to the man and his valiant efforts that were to fail, some more attention should be given the main actor, the Michigan grayling.

Did it become extinct? Yes, unfortunately, although we still are uncertain concerning the reasons for its disappearance. Are not these comments in fact both somewhat late and somewhat unnecessary considering the fact that the long-gone species was small in size and of no great economic significance by any stretch of the imagination? All true. Nothing can bring the little fish back; but the memories of those qualities for which our Victorian forefathers appreciated it are still alive and worthy of some attention even now. As a game fish it was, if anything, too much appreciated. Not particularly good as a pan fish, the grayling was, nonetheless, apparently a good fighter when caught and, to add to the pleasures of the fisherman, the most beautiful creature he could hope to catch in Michigan waters.

Since it is far more common to discuss a fish's eating or game qualities rather than its beauty perhaps a few lines should be dedicated to the special finny pulchritude of the grayling. Some idea of its almost startling beauty can be gathered from the description of the fish given by Jordan in his book on American fish.

There is no species sought for by anglers that surpasses the grayling in beauty. They are more elegantly formed and more graceful than the trout, and their great dorsal fin is a superb mark of loveliness. When the well-lids (the covers of a compartment in the boat) were lifted, and the sun's rays admitted, lighting up the delicate olive-brown tints of the back and sides, the bluish-white of the abdomen, and the mingling of tints of rose, pale blue and purplish-pink on the fins, they displayed a combination of colours equaled by no fish outside of the tropics.*

Some anglers in Michigan watched with alarm as this delightful

*Jordan, North American Food and Game Fishes, 224.

fish became more scarce. Successful efforts to propagate artificially the whitefish, trouts, and salmon, which had been threatened with extinction, were inspiration enough for attempts which gave hope for success in raising grayling from artificially inseminated eggs. Slightly later the Michigan species' virtual twin, the Montana grayling, was to be saved from a similar fate by hatchery techniques; but, in the Wolverine state, perhaps the streams it inhabited were too clogged with waste to be any longer inhabitable or perhaps it was an equipment failure since viable eggs seem to have been collected several times. At any rate, efforts were to fail.

Certainly one of the leaders interested in the fish was Martin Metcalf a resident of Grand Rapids and Battle Creek. Metcalf was born in 1823, long before the Michigan grayling was known to science, and lived in Grand Rapids until 1869 when he moved to Battle Creek. He was active in the hardware business in both cities, but typical of the times also took an active interest in politics and even served for a time as a justice of the peace in Grand Rapids. Further, it was apparently largely through his interest that the legislators of Lansing finally passed a law offering a subsidy for salt manufactured in Michigan; the ultimate result of which was the exploration and development of salt deposits which have been industrially important to the state ever since. However, there can be little doubt that Martin Metcalf's life reached its climax when, due to his active interest in the Republican party affairs, President Lincoln chose him to become the ambassador of the United States at Mexico City. He was appointed to this high post in 1862 but felt it necessary to decline the honor due to the unrest engulfing French-occupied Mexico during this period, as well as due to the uncertain prospects of the Union forces at that time. A lot of Northerners other than Metcalf were giving some serious attention during 1862 as to what they might do if Confederate forces broke through the Union armies into the North.

From 1873 until his death in 1897, he was a lawyer in Battle Creek. During this period he was to play his part in some of the unsuccessful attempts to aid the grayling to escape extinction. Further, and more important, he wrote about what he did and these letters have come down to us.

On November 20, 1880, Martin Metcalf wrote an informal essay in longhand on what he knew of the Michigan grayling. Almost certainly he chose to write what he did at the urging of no less a person than Professor Spencer F. Baird, ichthyologist, and United States Commissioner of Fish and Fisheries as well as secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. On April 29 of the same year he had replied to a letter from "Prof. S. F. Beard" (sic) while at Reed City. At the time a violent storm was keeping him from trying to obtain some really worthy specimens of grayling for his eminent correspondent. The letter itself was written on stationery of the "Reed City Weekly Clarion," a paper of about eleven hundred circulation, started in 1872 and at that time published by George W. and Jesse T. Minchin.

The post office department must have been quite efficient in those days since Martin Metcalf's letter of April 29 is stamped May 3, 1880, presumably by someone at the Smithsonian on its arrival there. Perhaps on that very day a reply went out since there is a letter, little more than a note, sent, this time, to "Professor S. F. Baird," on May 5 and receipted for in the same fashion at the Smithsonian on May 11, 1880. This second letter was sent from Boyne Falls and brought the professor up to date with reference to Metcalf's current activities on the behalf of the grayling. Apparently time was not a factor, perhaps Martin, who was fifty-seven in 1880, was in semiretirement since he reported not expecting to return home to Battle Creek for about three weeks. Or, more likely, he found it possible to combine business and his interest in the grayling.

The essay on the grayling which probably was motivated by this interchange might well have been written on a single day, perhaps a wet and dreary early winter day typical of Michigan at that time of year, when even an active man would be willing to use an excuse to stay indoors. The date on the last page of the thirty-eight sheets is November 20, 1880. The sheets themselves are interesting in addition to the information written on them since Metcalf used as his paper the reverse sides of order forms for the "National Patent Door and Window Screens manufactured by the Henry S. Smith and Company of Grand Rapids."

A bit of illumination on a long-forgotten aspect of our late nineteenth century culture is provided by this order form. On it are listed nine basic types of cloth window screens as well as screens of door-size up to three and a half feet in width. Lately some recognition has been given to our Victorian ancestors for the originality of their house designs; and in the screens with which they kept out the flies and mosquitoes of their day they possessed more choice than we have today. Thus the blank reads as follows:

Irregular sizes made to order. Figured cloth, add 15 cents to each screen, and 25 cents to each door. . . . Landscapes, double the regular prices.

The owner of the mill, Henry S. Smith, was a man about Metcalf's age, perhaps a friend although they did not share, apparently, like views on politics. Smith was a well-known member of the Grand Rapids community. He had been an active participant in the Greenback party campaigns in western Michigan and had been instrumental in helping to bring out a new paper in 1879. This newspaper, the "Evening Leader," was more friendly to the Greenback cause. At the time, he was the mayor of the city having been elected in 1878. He had actually run for the post of governor of the state in that same year but had to be satisfied with the lesser post. Smith was to die within three years at the age of sixty-one and prior to the end of his term as mayor.

Martin Metcalf's choice of the order blanks on which to write his important notes on the grayling was well made since the sheets are still in good condition, although rendered somewhat yellow and brittle by the passing years. Since the essay is in longhand some words in it have defied the most careful deciphering and will probably remain casualties of the specialized vocabulary of the day and the inability of several readers to even guess at their meaning. However, the total number of items that defied decipherment or succumbed to outright guessing as to their original meanings was really very small and probably the omission does not alter the accuracy, significantly, of this glimpse into a past when the beautiful "banner trout" still gave the fisherman in Michigan an occasional glimpse of its magnificent dorsal fin.

Although the species of grayling referred to in the article has been extinct for half a century, the genus could conceivably make a comeback in Michigan soon. The Detroit News reported in its Sunday, June 12, 1960 edition that Montana grayling introduced both as fry and as eggs into Lake Manganese in the Keweenaw Peninsula in 1959 were apparently spawning in streams tributary to it. The lake had been specially prepared for the little immigrants. A telephone conversation on January 25, 1961, with Mr. Marston J. DeBoer, supervisor of field management of the fisheries division of the Michigan Department of Conservation, was less optimistic in tone. Mr. DeBoer said that no one really knows why the Michigan grayling became extinct. However, the best guess at present is that changes in their physical environment during the period when Michigan was rapidly being denuded of its trees tended to aggravate the situation for this fish, an Arctic species already in a precarious state of ecological balance. Hence, since the environmental situation is still bad, in part due to introduced fish that have become established in former grayling streams, hopes for their future reestablishment as a Michigan variety of game fish is very unlikely.

The Michigan Grayling

Martin Metcalf

ABOUT THE YEAR 1855, WHEN THE WRITER was a resident of the City of Grand Rapids, Michigan, a report became current that a new and peculiar kind of brook trout was being caught in certain tributaries of the Muskegon River, and other of the northern streams of the lower peninsula of the state. That these trout differed from the well known "speckled trout" of the eastern states in that the "specks" corresponding to the *carnis* ones of the latter, in this new species were black; and that there were other marked differences, among which was also mentioned the dorsal fin, which was represented to be of gigantic proportions, and so indescribably

beautiful as to have suggested the name of "Banner Trout"; from its supposed resemblance to the star[r]ed and striped flag of the United States.

The impression became quite general in Grand Rapids that this new, gamy, and magnificent trout existed in all of the streams of that section of the state, either alone, or along with the more common kind; a few only holding to the belief that the new species existed there to the exclusion of all others, until about the year 1859, when the attention of some of the sportsmen of Grand Rapids, who had been in the habit of making periodical or business visits to that section of Michigan, the head of our superb hunting and fishing (haunts) grounds, was called to its investigation.

The subject of this article thus becoming discussed, it was found that not only did this fish abound in most of the streams of the region above mentioned, but that he was often found along with his royal cousin, the brook trout proper, *Salmo-fontinalis*,⁴ inhabiting the same stream, whilst others contained but one of the two kinds, and yet in other waters, near by, and connected together as principal and tributary no brook trout of any kind had been discovered!

We come now down to the time of the first identification of the new trout as a *Grayling*.

In the month of June, 1861, Mr. John T. Elliott,⁵ then and now a citizen of Grand Rapids, about going on a business trip into Mecosta County, Dr. J. C. Parker, also of said city, and a member of the present Board of Michigan Fish Commissioners, suggested to Mr. Elliott the procuring and bringing home with him, on his return, of a specimen of the new fish, for examination, comparison and, if possible, identification. This was done; and the following is what Mr. E[lliott] says about it.

I engaged some Indians and we went to a small tributary of the Muskegon River, that empties into it at a place called "Roger's Crossing", about four miles below Big Rapids, where we got thirty very fine ones. This brook is not more than four feet wide; but had num-

⁴This is an old generic name for the brook trout. It is more properly *Salvelinus fontinalis* and is actually a char and not a trout at all.

⁵John T. Elliott in that same year was an alderman in the growing city of Grand Rapids. Later he served on the board of education for a number of years.

erous deep holes, and eddies under logs where the fish lay in great numbers. The Indians were very expert in catching them by means of hooks fastened on the ends of sticks in this way: to wit: Laying lengthwise on the logs, with face close to the water and carefully getting the hook under the fish they would lift them out. I preserved some in salt and took them to Dr. Parker, to whom belongs the credit of bringing this new fish to the notice of the public. I understood that one was sent to Prof. Agassiz,⁶ who called it the Grayling.

Up to this time, this trout had been known by as many different names as localities where found: among which may be mentioned the following: "Michigan Trout," "Cisco," "Banner Trout," "Shiner," etc.

Some of the Grayling received by Dr. Parker, as above narrated, were exhibited before the members of the "Kent Scientific Institute," a literary association connected with the high school of that city, and the new fish was then identified as a grayling, receiving its first scientific christening of *Thymallus Michiganeus*.⁷

Nevertheless, we will utter no word in derogation of the high honor and supreme credit justly due to Daniel H. Fitzhugh⁸ of Bay City, by whose persistent efforts and untiring labor, at a later day (ten years later) greater public prominence was given to this fish. Indeed it may be said to be strictly true, that, notwithstanding the earlier discovery and identification of this rare American grayling, and limited publication thereof from the western slope of the state, to Dr. Fitzhugh properly belongs the credit he has universally received of being "the father of the Grayling" first found by him in the Au Sable River, of the eastern slope of

⁶This is almost surely the famous naturalist, Jean Louis Agassiz, who by this time was at Harvard and at the peak of his career and was keenly interested in the fishes of his adopted continent.

⁷Metcalfe was fighting a losing cause since the scientific name *Thymallus tricolor* was the accepted name and continued to be so.

⁸Dr. Daniel H. Fitzhugh, born in 1794 in Washington County, Maryland, was a resident of Livingston County in New York but, with a Judge Charles H. Carroll, came to the Saginaw valley in 1834 and purchased an extensive tract of land. Upon the admission of Michigan to statehood in 1837 he increased his holdings further, owning at one time most of the site now occupied by Bay City. His son, William D. Fitzhugh, married the daughter of his business associate, Judge Carroll, in 1848. Their home was on the site of the present City Hall of Bay City. Carroll Park in Bay City was a gift to the municipality by Mrs. William D. Fitzhugh from a block of property given her by her father, Judge Carroll.

Michigan, the outcome of which has been, most unfortunately, to attach to him the misnomer of '*Thymallus Tricolor*', or that other cognomen, or worse than 'no name' — "*Signifer*".

To Dr. Fitzhugh's indefatigable labors of love for the preservation and artificial propagation of this rare and beautiful trout, two expeditions of exploration and observation for the capture and domestication of the grayling, under the auspices of the state have been planned and executed.

The first of these went into camp in the grayling country in the eastern part of the state on the 14th day of April 1877, and the second on the 30th of March 1878. In neither of these expeditions were any definite and valuable results achieved beyond the taking of any desired number of adult grayling and the gathering of a small and unsatisfactory lot of artificially impregnated eggs; which never developed into living fish.

Various and oft repeated attempts have been made from time to time, both by the state of Michigan and New York as well as by private parties, to reduce the Michigan grayling to domestication and bring him within the art of artificial reproduction like others of the family *salmonoidae* [correct spelling *salmonoidae*]; but with not more than partial success until the past season, as a glance at the various reports will show.

Notably, among these or the one most nearly successful, mention will here be made of the expedition of Mr. Seth Green⁹ of the N. Y. State Hatchery to the Au Sable River of Michigan in 1874 and its results, as embodying the sum total of both the measures of success and failure up to the date of the issue of his new book entitled *Fish Hatching and Fish Catching* in December, 1879.

Mr. G[reen] states pp. 133-5 of above entitled work, that he "dug up one hundred and six impregnated eggs that had been deposited in the natural method", sending them directly to the N. Y. state establishment at Caledonia, where they arrived, with

⁹Mr. Seth Green was one of the early leaders in American conservation and is intimately related to the almost explosive development of fish hatching activities in New York and elsewhere in the United States from about 1870 to the turn of the century. He was superintendent for the New York state hatcheries from 1877 to 1880. His book was an important landmark in conservation.

the loss of one only on May 4th—himself following with “eighty large grayling. . . . First eggs hatched May 8th.—last on the 11th. fry commenced foraging for food on the 12th—all swimming on the 15th”—adding that, “they are about three inches long in December.”

Mr. Green states the “time of incubation” of grayling eggs to be “about the same as brook trout”—a conclusion without warrant, from the premises, for the reason that he could not have known when the eggs he “dug up” were impregnated.

He describes the fry as “resembling the young of whitefish” but larger, etc., which does not accord with our observations and experiences.

His interesting chapter, devoted to this fish, concludes as follows:

Those are the first and only grayling ever hatched artificially. Up to the present time, however, March 1879, the grayling have exhibited no desire to spawn, and do not enter the raceway for that purpose. What they would do if turned out free in our eastern streams we cannot say, but when kept in confinement they will not spawn with us, and hence are useless to the fish culturist, whatever they may yet prove to be to the sportsman.

This, after five years of possession and persistent experiment.

The report of the superintendent of the Michigan State Fisheries for the years 1877-8,¹⁰ issued in the early winter of 1879, gives ample details of the many discouragements, and fruitless endeavors to artificially propagate the grayling from stock fish kept for that purpose, and concludes with the forlorn hope of being able to reclaim him from threatened annihilation (extinction) by the establishment of a temporary local hatchery on one of the streams containing them, to be kept up until this thus far most obstinate fish shall be pleased to yield up its secret, as to “time and manner of reproduction”!

The hope thus expressed, and doubtless faithfully entertained by many had so nearly been abandoned, that the writer has in his possession numerous letters of discouragement received from those who had repeatedly tried and failed, expressive of their convictions

¹⁰This refers to the report of the Board of Fish Commissioners established in Michigan by Act No. 124 of the legislature of 1873.

of having given up all hope of ever artificially rearing grayling from fish held in captivity.

Nevertheless, with faith supreme, amid all these "doubting Thomases," the writer undertook, under the kind auspices of the Michigan Board of Fish Commissioners, the task of finding the hidden key that should unlock the icy prison house that held, in its sombre shadows, the grayling secret in its grasp.

To this end, in October, 1879, a half hundred adult grayling, that had been held captive in the state hatchery at Pokagon¹¹ without favorable results, were transferred to the private ponds of Martin Metcalf¹² at Battle Creek in Calhoun County.

When first received, these were placed in a preserve containing an area of about four square rods, and having an average depth of three or more feet, with several small coves, or basins, about its irregular border, seemingly suitable for acceptable "fish beds" for natural fish propagation. This pond is fed by copious springs near by, the water of which is highly charged with the red oxide of iron, commonly called "Mineral Springs," some of which are embraced within its bed; the temperature of the springs remaining very nearly uniform throughout the year at 50° Fahren[h]eit, most of the pond ranging from 45° to 60° between the extremes of winter and summer.

As an experiment, sixteen of the grayling were soon afterward transferred to a lower and shallower pond, above which they had the liberty of a rapid brook for thirty rods.

Here they appeared discontented, and persisted in going down instead of up stream, as intended; and eight of them jumped four very thin cascades in succession, each having a vertical fall of one foot. And below these, four of the fish scaled a screen wall two feet high and three feet lengthwise the stream!

Three of them were soon recovered before reaching the Kalamazoo River a hundred rods distant, faded and bleached to the

¹¹The hatchery at Pokagon near Niles was the earliest in Michigan, but was never highly developed due to difficulties that were solved by abandonment in 1882.

¹²It was not too uncommon for farmers or persons interested in conservation to impound waters for fish-cultivation in these days. As a matter of fact, in a few months after this a real fad for rearing the recently introduced German carp swept Michigan as well as much of the rest of the United States.

exact color of the sandy bed of the brooklet; the remaining one escaping search for five weeks, at the end of which time it was discovered amongst a mass of vegetation that had sprung up on a wide-spread bar of accumulated debris, with the dorsal fin and about one half of his fish-ship out [of the] water—bleached nearly white by exposure.

Placed in a covered trough, from which the light was excluded, along side of one of his fellows in normal condition the contrast was most striking; but far less wonderful than the change that was wrought in a few short hours. Thus protected almost entirely from the light, four days had scarcely intervened before it became impossible to recognize the one from the other!

Yet others of the grayling were apportioned among different ponds; varying in distance from the springs, and in depth of water to that of ten feet or more.

In the preserve first above described, the grayling seemed contented; and early in Jan'y, 1880, there appeared indications of paring, in the seeking by some of them, of the retired [?] coves, or basins, before untried, from the vicinity of which all intruders were sharply driven.

Daily, and oft-repeated observations during the month following gave unmistakable evidence of the approaching spawning season in the movements of several pairs—but none passed far up the open raceway, or tarried, for more than a moment, above its mouth; the possession of which was sharply contested by severe battles.

During this month, a small female was killed, and inspection disclosed, by actual count 777 apparently nearly ripe eggs.

About the first of March another small female was dispatched, with results exactly similar, save only that the eggs appeared to be perceptibly larger, and nearer-ripe than before. A change in the color of the fish became more and more discernible; the males, for the most part, wearing a richer half yellow, half crimson tint, the colors fading imperceptibly and curiously blending and changing, as the fish passed by below the observer, in the slanting sunlight.

With all these accumulating evidences before him, the writer feeling convinced of early and complete success, could not help

giving voice to his convictions in conversation with Michigan's most worthy Sup't. of Fisheries.¹³ He also communicated the gratifying promises to Mr. Seth Green, of New York. The latter responded that he had "no faith" in any such favorable result—whilst Mr. Portman simply replied that he "hoped" all would end well, but feared that we would not succeed where so many had utterly and signally failed.

Hence it happened, that a third expedition to the grayling country—partially planned long before—was not abandoned, but undertaken, in order to "render assurance doubly sure," in the early spring of 1880, to be executed by Mr. M., at his discretion.

This expedition went into camp, on the west bank of the Hersey River, in Osceola County, about one mile north of Reed City, between the track of the Grand Rapids and Indiana Railroad¹⁴ and river at a point where the two run parallel from the north and but a few rods apart, on the 25th day of March, 1880.

This river is a tributary to the Muskegon, flowing from the Northwest toward the S.E. while the upper branches of the Pere Marquette are in close proximity to the West, flowing in an opposite direction, and from the opposite side of the "divide", or watershed between these two streams.

The point selected proved to have been well chosen, because of the R.R. facilities thus afforded in every direction, it being intended after "interviewing" the grayling and other denizens of the Hersey, to proceed to the Pere Marquette for a like purpose; and then away to the north, over the long line of the G. & I. which crosses almost numberless brooks and rivers literally "swarming" with either "speckled trout"¹⁵ "grayling"—or both, every few miles of its way.

On March 27th.—but two days after reaching camp—a dispatch from Battle Creek to "Camp Metcalf", on the Hersey, conveyed the gratifying fact that the first ripe grayling eggs had been

¹³The Superintendent at this time was James G. Portman of Watervliet who on September 15, 1879, had succeeded the initial superintendent of the commission, George H. Jerome of Niles. Mr. Portman was to serve as superintendent until September, 1882.

¹⁴This was an ambitious railway line that extended all the way from Mackinaw City at the northern extremity of the southern peninsula to Cincinnati. Most of the line is now part of the Pennsylvania railroad system.

¹⁵Another common name for the brook trout, *Salvelinus fontinalis*.

artificially taken and successfully fecundated from the grayling denizens of the Battle Creek ponds!

On April 4th ripe eggs and milt were taken at camp, and very soon thereafter, simultaneously with the above intelligence thence transmitted, and by its suggestion, the adult grayling in the State preserves at Pokagon were overhauled and their condition found to almost exactly correspond with those at Battle Creek and those freshly taken captive from their native waters!

Who could longer doubt that the long sought for "key" had been found? and that the "grayling problem" was solved at last?

There only remained the demonstration, in the artificial hatching the eggs and rearing the living fish.

But, in order to render the promised success certain and complete, the work of the expedition was not allowed to rest; but Mr. M. and his sons yet tarried on the bleak banks of these northern rapidly running rivers daily wading to the arm-pits in water at from 34° to 40° amidst such snow and wind storms as only the great northwest can boast of, through floods unprecedented, that held the waters far above any known 'high water mark' until the July sun sent the almost unceasing storms, by which the early spring of the year 1880 will be long remembered, howling back to their northern homes—never doubting, for one single moment, the successful issue, as a final reward for so much of privation, toil, and suffering.

Being remonstrated with by one of Michigan's most worthy and accomplished members of her Board of Fish Commissioners, for staying longer, after victory had been seemingly achieved, response was given as follows: Not yet have I ever seen the end of the grayling spawn. When this is over—

On Jordan's Stormy banks I'll Stand!

And cast the fish alluring "fly".

Over her bars of shimmering sand,

Where the sly trout and grayling lie.

No threatening storms of snow or rain

Belated March sends April now.

Nor the tempestuous hurricane

Shall chill the ardor of my vow.

From his cold icy haunts to sift
The secret of the Grayling's spawn.
Unlock his mystic bolts, and lift
The breaking shadows of the dawn.
Then to my southern nest I'll hie.
Where heart and home and treasures are.
And here no longer "cast the fly"
From wild-wood banks of tangled fir.
Nor longer will I worship God.
With hook and line and fishing rod!

From observation of the habits of the grayling, both in his native fastnesses, and in artificial enclosures, the attentive student must be convinced that the parent fish do not penetrate to the very sources of the rivers, nor seek so shallow waters as do brook trout prefer, for spawning beds; but choose rather the deeper places where the water whirls in eddies, and in the darker "holes" and twilight under sunken logs where the current gently tends to "scour" the bottom and clean the sand, but not with sufficient force to lift the lighter grayling egg from its chosen cradle.

During the spawning season here the ripe and ripening parents will be always met with, dropping immediately down stream or scattering so soon as the work for which they annually migrate is accomplished.

All through the nesting season we searched in vain for any considerable number of adult fish or a single one of the young of the previous year's hatch in the little brooklets, and up to the head springs where the brook trout will go if they can get there, and where the fry will be found until a year old.

The use of the "net" as well as "fly" determined the same thing by gathering both old and young from the deep water.

Here let me ask the question: How many of the most experienced disciples of Walton have ever even seen the grayling fry?

Grayling make their annual visits to their spawning ground to be sure, like all other of the finny tribes, and then scatter, the larger mainly falling down stream, but the grayling occupy a relatively mid-way position and have a less wide range than the brook trout.

For instance in the Muskegon River proper, very few are ever met with, and these pass but a very little way from the mouths of the tributaries containing them and have never, it is believed, been known to cross that river! Since in none of its southeastern tributaries are grayling found, even tho its branches (flowing) coming from the N.W. are full of them and the confluence of some of these opposite tributaries are in close proximity!

Whether the character of the water flowing from the N.W. charged, as it is, with the red oxide of iron, and its waves and bed abounding in the infinite and infinitesimal eggs, larvae, and parent of the cyclops, and other small crustacea is necessary for the existence of the fry in their natural condition, and the opposite shore is lacking or deficient in these essentials, appears to be at the present time one of the unknown quantities.

As has been seen, the grayling do not tarry up stream so far as brook trout—neither do they seek out the various little shallow brooklets that make up the mid-way branches of these great Michigan Rivers—unless indeed where as in many cases, such smaller branches meander thru the thick mazes of dark cedar swamps abounding in deep dark holes and basins.

In his normal condition—which doubtless will be modified by domestication, as in other instances in the animal kingdom—wherever a large lakelet breaks the thread of a stream or the brook spreads out over a shallow bottom for a considerable distance, letting the bright sunlight stream in, unbroken, nature seems to have set a bound to the annual pilgrimage of the grayling for spawning purposes.

Hence it has happened that fish culturists who wait for the usual signs of the mating and spawning of brook trout in the management of the Michigan grayling will wait for that which is not likely to occur.

There are many striking peculiarities that mark this fish and distinguish him from all his congeries besides his before-mentioned habit of confining his periodical migrations to certain local lines and limits and others already noticed important among which and most perplexing of all to the fish culturist must be mentioned that of the retention by the female of her eggs for an indefinite

length of time when from lack of suitable spawning grounds or other necessary conditions, unknown to the writer, until they become over-ripe and incapable of impregnation. The body of the female thus holding her eggs over becomes distended by reason of an abnormal development of the ova so held, often and usually resulting in disease and death of the parent fish—and always, so far as known and believed, resulting in the loss of every egg.

We have ourselves found individuals thus holding over far into July, and numbers of fishermen familiar with this fish in his native home aver that they have so found them all thru the summer months! Even in their native waters we found some in this condition so late as the middle of May and in our own ponds both of those (captured) caught last spring and others of the catch of previous years, numbers so held their eggs.

Such fish become listless and so devoid of activity and bereft of their natural faculties and instincts as to be (often) sometimes taken out of the water by the hand without struggle.

All but bursting with their burden of over-ripe eggs, the slightest manipulation causes them to be extruded, everyone of which is found to be stone dead! In color a little shade lighter than fully ripened unfertilized eggs and quite as large, often and usually larger than live ones lately fertilized, they appear otherwise nearly natural and the careless observer concludes that the spawning season is not yet over, but a chance egg dropping into water betrays its lifeless character in the loss of its orange tint almost instantly.

Some few of the females thus holding over are believed to gradually void their eggs and recuperate but the great majority seem to dreamily linger along in comparative isolation from their fellows for awhile—frequently becoming the victims of the disease called "fungus" tho not always—are finally seized with a sudden spasm, in the struggles of which they will jump a foot or more out of water, and at its end—which lasts but for a moment—they are dead.

The original habitat of the Michigan grayling presumably included all of the rapidly running streams to the north of and including the Muskegon and its branches, since he is now found

in both the eastern and western portions of this division of the state and in various of its streams, at intervals, up to the extreme northern limit of the lower peninsula and was an inhabitant, within the easy recollection of many living witnesses of the Boardman, Boyne, Indian, and other rivers where he is not now found in any appreciable numbers.

Dr. E. [Ezra] S. Holmes,¹⁶ of Grand Rapids, president of the Michigan State Sportsman's Association, informs me that when he first visited the Boyne and Boardman, some 25 years ago, at least one half of his catch of fish was grayling—the proportion of the latter gradually diminishing year by year. Indeed it is said to be within the memory of some when no brook trout were found in either of the rivers above named—a fact now supposed to be true as to the Au Sable, Manistee, Pere Marquette, Hersey, and other of the notable grayling streams—yet the writer caught a "speckled trout" in the Hersey, near Reed City in 1872, and last season no less than seven were taken out of the same river near that point!

Now, by what means and in what manner these apparently new-coming strangers are introduced and so suddenly appear it is not our purpose here to discuss—any more than it is that other puzzle or paradox of how a vegetable growth appears at times and in places where no possible seed could conceivably have been planted.

With these facts in mind, it is confidently predicted that the more voracious . . . and predacious habit of the brook trout will render him at no distant day the royal ruler and sole salmonoid inhabitant of all such streams as give him entrance.

Whether this result is imaginary or not, and if . . . , but in accord with that Darwinian discovery of the "survival of the fittest" we leave for the cogitation of the curious.

As for ourselves we incline to that other opinion that the tendency

¹⁶Dr. Ezra S. Holmes was a dentist who came to Grand Rapids from Lockport, New York, in 1865. His early interest in things scientific is shown by his keeping temperature records of the Grand Rapids area during the years 1866 to 1868 for the newly established Smithsonian Institution. Besides being an officer in the sportsman's association at this time he was president of the Kent Scientific Institute in 1889.

is the other way—and that the “fittest” to live often die—whom the Gods love die young” is a pretty trite old saw and that the young grayling that do not live, die very young—and at the mouths of brook trout if any are around—one needs but to trust a dozen month old grayling fry with a single “chicken trout” to be convinced.

The reason for this is plain. Brook Trout fry appear from the middle of December to February 20th in the grayling latitude while the latter do not break the shell till April 20th—and the wee, tiny grayling baby is no match for a troutlet of same age. Therefore it is of just the right size and consistency to be “sucked in” by the mouthful by his formidable cousin of cannibal propensities. Hence it appears evident that the trout must supersede the grayling in the same stream as certainly as that the tender chicken, or chick turkey, must make room for the intruding weasel or detested skunk and not because of or in accordance with that wonderfully happy law of nature of the “survival of the fittest”.

From the above cause, and others to presently appear, the grayling is fast disappearing from Michigan waters and will, together with his gamy and beautiful kinsman, at no very distant day, be remembered with the things that were and are not unless some effectual bar shall be erected (to prevent) against the indiscriminate “slaughter of the innocent” and universal use of our most superb fish breeding grounds as deposits for the dust of saw mills and sewers for everything that is vile under the sun.

On every one of the grayling rivers we visited—and most of the trout streams as well—a full tide of choking dust filled the current for many miles, driving every salmonoid before its remorseless waves. And from many of the smaller brooklets they have already been confessedly annihilated. On the Pere Marquette River nets and spears were also plying in open daylight in defiance of law and in one place on the P. & M. river, near Baldwin, the county seat of Lake County, we counted nineteen men and boys with spears in their hands punching everything they saw that had—as they replied to a question “a fishes head on”! A month later at Boyne Falls, boys and men were everywhere taking trout with hook and line, using the little yearling for bait for larger fish by thousands, not in violation of any law! Little thinking and probably

caring less for the inevitable consequences that such a course must soon end in.

And yet some of these truly good, innocent and pious (!) people affected a wonderful sensitiveness upon the subject of fish preservation(?) when reverting to the fact of our "taking away" a few hundred live trout for fish cultural purposes!

And right here I cannot refrain from stating the fact—known by all men visiting that point—that the principal proprietor of the site of Boyne Falls, and who owns or controls the great sawmill situated in the heart of that beautiful little city, permits its polluting flood of vile dust to flow almost uninterruptedly like a deadly upas¹⁷ into the otherwise wonderfully pure and transparent unending cascade that rushes glistening and sparkling as it leaps along on its winding, plunging, headlong zig-zag way down to Michigan's great inland sea.

Casting the "fly" from her banks immediately below the mill at a time when the dust was running and when it was not, told only too well what we need not, perhaps, make mention of here, viz: That the dust drove every trout before its foul and turbid current.

A few hours of rest as of a night or over Sunday and we could pull ashore the "speckled beauties" at almost every step.

Down to its mouth, and up, up, up, up to the very sources of this rushing torrent did we climb to an altitude of 300 feet above the little city of Boyne Falls—threading thru the tangles of cedar swamps and winding through maple forests where the "stalwarts" have stood for centuries and the clear sparkling waters first kiss the sun-light as they leap out from beneath the towering hemlocks and from a soil as rich as the sun ever saw—where neither monster maple, sky-piercing hemlock or virgin soil is yet broken by the hand of civilization, we wended our way with the ever present brook trout for constant companionship and the little fry readily taken by the bare hand at every step.

O ye starving millions of the pent-up East! Never before did we realize the full import of the sage advice of that old "Son of

¹⁷A very powerful vegetable poison extracted from the sap of a tree found in Indonesia. It was used to poison arrow points and the points of blowgun darts.

York" to "go west young man"—although we have beheld almost every portion of the great southwest and west. Never before have we seen any place where the man of limited means can so easily, quickly and certainly secure to himself a comfortable house in a country so near market and environed by avenues of trade and commerce that must soon make this now almost wilderness the rival of central New York, which it so nearly resembles in soil, timber and every natural endowment, if it shall not, when cleared of its forests, even outstrip that "Garden of the Empire state" in all that goes to make up a rich and prosperous community. Nearer to markets with Railroad and Lake communication to every quarter of the habitable globe, arable lands at from four to eight dollars per acre is such a temptation to anyone to enter the wilderness and especially to the immigrant seeking a home, that once seen it cannot be forgotten.

I know it is the general impression even in central and southern Michigan that the northern portion of our state is one vast, wild waste of pine barrens, away up toward the north pole somewhere near to the spot where Sir John Franklin's bones have lain so long undiscovered—but that false notion is now fast being dispelled, as the tourist and traveller of today is rapidly and pleasantly whirled over the long line of the Grand Rapids and Indiana—past tasty farm houses surrounded by young orchards bearing their luscious burdens of tender peaches, apples, and other fruits of supposed warmer lands further south—sees in swift panorama, smiling villages, and thriving cities that have here sprung up as if by the magician's wand, within the past few years, for more than one hundred miles along the artery of this already great avenue of trade and commerce.

But this is *en passant*.

Having considered some of the peculiarities, both of grayling and brook trout, as well as glanced at the causes of the gradual diminution of each, let us now see if there is no remedy within reach whereby our magnificent American representative of the grayling may be rescued from threatened extinction and the brook trout also prevented from following and sharing the same fate.

As has been seen, the chances for the joint propagation and protection of both in the same waters is very small indeed—not

from any natural antagonism between them or that the two sub-families will not "lie down together in peace" so that "a little child shall feed them"—but first, because of the differences in time of reproduction and size of the young, as before noted; and second, for the reason that the brook trout is par excellence, a carnivorous fish and of such voracious appetite that when driven by hunger he will not hesitate at the seeming impossibility of swallowing whole one of his own flesh and blood of more than half his size and weight! So that, when the trout and grayling do lie down together—as they assuredly will without apparent shot of harm on the part of the trustful grayling—it is the old, old story of "Jonah and the whale" with the grayling on the inside.

There are many spring lakes and brooks in our country in which no fish of any kind are found—notably in Michigan—and certainly containing no predatory fishes. Into these it is believed the grayling might be introduced with reasonable prospect of success. The fact that he is not found in lakes to which he has access is no proof to the contrary, for the reason among others that these, so far as known, are the breeding ground of pickerel, black bass, and other of our most ravenous fish sharks. That the grayling will live and thrive in much warmer waters than brook trout we are well assured, both by analogy and experiment.

With the knowledge already acquired and such friendly legislation by the general Government and similar aid in the several states as the most progressive fish culturists desire and ought soon to secure, it is confidently anticipated that the fish to which this paper is (mainly) principally devoted—and most interesting of all our finny hosts, shall be preserved and perpetuated; and that fish food of every desirable kind will abound throughout the land and its pursuit become both a health giving pleasure, and source of profit to all the inhabitants of our wide-spread domain.

We will now return to the grayling camp on the Hersey and follow the footsteps that led to their rearing the past seasons.

Storms unprecedented and fearfully high water tearing madly from their ordinarily extremely rapid courses prevented the taking of but a very few grayling from the Hersey until far into April. A few ripe eggs were taken and duly fertilized on April 2d which

were lost in the great flood following. Afterward more were taken many of which were lost as before—some were shipped to Battle Creek, a few were forwarded to the New York Hatchery at Caledonia¹⁸ and a few placed in a Holton hatching box in a miniature hatchery established in the basement of the mill at Reed City for the purpose of ascertaining whether the water of the Hersey is necessary or more suitable for grayling propagation than elsewhere.

Since leaving Reed City, I have learned that those left in charge of Mr. Morris¹⁹ in his mill all died in from five to seven days as did those first taken at Battle Creek, and all taken at Pokagon.

Those sent to Caledonia, by request of Mr. Seth Green, died on the way, as I am informed by him, the weather turning very warm for this season of the year—it was then May 6th.

No certain means were at hand at Reed City for determining the temperature of the water but it is believed to have been not far from 40°. At Battle Creek prior to April 23d—the date on which my eldest son reached home—a considerable quantity of eggs had been taken and apparently duly fertilized. These were placed under varying conditions and in water ranging all along from 34° to 50° without hatching in any numbers. A few did break the shell at 50° but none lived a single day, appearing to expire at the very moment of birth.

The failures and disappointments above cited served as steps toward that success afterward attained, however, since my eldest son, Foster M. Metcalf, immediately after reaching home, assigned to himself the task of not only saving the considerable quantity of eggs yet on the trays and supposed to be near maturity but to try every possible expedient that had been suggested to each and all of us during this trying period of our investigations and misfortunes.

Through sleepless nights and restless, watchful days, he kept constant vigil over his precious charge of tiny eggs that day by day like fleeting dew departed from his longing sight. Gradually raising

¹⁸A small town thirty miles south and west of Rochester at which was located one of the first fish hatcheries in the very active New York state conservation program.

¹⁹A Mr. Rufus S. Morris operated a saw mill at Reed City. Between 1866 and 1868 he was supervisor of Richmond Township. It should be kept in mind that the Hersey River passes directly through Reed City.

the temperature one egg finally did hatch at 50° but the frail newborn thing was dead. And thus perished the last grayling egg taken prior to April 20th. On that day every adult grayling carried by him from Reed City was manipulated but not one ripe egg was found, although the fish had started on their long journey "chuck full of eggs" they had been mostly voided on the way and the "milt" of the males had so discolored the water as to give it a semi-milky appearance. Overhauling the grayling that had wintered at Battle Creek, ripe eggs and milt was obtained and placed in water at a yet higher temperature, as also were more taken a few days after from ripening fish carried from the Hersey, the details of which, as gleaned from our record book, appears below: To wit:

Eggs taken at Camp Metcalf on the Hersey River in Osceola County on April 20th and 21st — taken to Battle Creek on the 22nd and placed in Holton Hatching boxes temp. 55° and transferred to troughs on May 3d a few hours after hatching had commenced — water 60°. Last egg hatched on May 7th. Eggs taken from grayling rec'd from State Hatchery at Pokagon in October, 1879, on April 24th were placed in a Parker revolving drum,²⁰ the invention of Dr. J. C. Parker of the Michigan State Board of Fish Comm. Water 60° Commenced hatching on May 4th, then transferred to troughs, water 60°. Last hatched on May 8th.

Average period of incubation about 13½ days.

Although we failed of hatching healthy fish below 55°, there were other differing conditions, such as food supply, etc., etc., etc., which perhaps had something to do with the successful rearing at higher temperatures, although it must be conceded that the eggs, fry, and mature grayling, if they do not require, at least prefer, a higher temperature than brook trout. In fact the adult grayling will live in water without change or aeration long after brook trout, confined with them are dead. In some other respects they are more hardy and tenacious of life but the eggs are much smaller, more delicate and tender, of less specific gravity and require greater care in their treatment. The newly hatched fry too are exceedingly frail and tiny, in fact so very small are they that a person might

²⁰The Parker Revolving Drum was an invention of the Dr. J. C. Parker mentioned in note number 3. This apparatus was designed to prevent fish eggs in the process of hatching from collecting in masses large enough to "smother" those eggs deprived of oxygen by layers lying upon them. After a brief popularity the revolving drum became obsolete.

look into a pail full of clear spring water containing thousands and not see one of them. Wire cloth of fourteen meshes to the inch, such as is used in screens for confining trout fry, offers absolutely no bar to their free passage, even before the food sac is absorbed.

In rearing the grayling the trouble begins right here, as with most other fish, and when it is considered how very small they are—and that a grayling of any size will choke to death in trying to swallow food that brook trout of same size will “get away with” by the hand full, the cause of the trouble becomes apparent. They must be fed very slowly, often, and of the finest kind of fish food—such as blood or cream, diluted with water at first, the periods apart of feeding gradually widening as the young get older. At a week old they will feed on the ova of the smaller fresh water crustaceae, called cyclops, with which many, probably the beds of most, spring brooks abound. These eggs are laid in shallow places and adhere to the stones, blades of grass, or anything pendant in the water, wherever it ripples rapidly from January to July in the latitude of central Michigan. At two weeks of age the fry may lunch on the larvae of the same, or the eggs of the larger crustacean, commonly called schrimp [sic], of which class there are many kinds, after which they will, if driven to it by hunger, partake sparingly of the old standby “bonny clabber” or “lobbered milk”²¹ but they don’t seem to take kindly to it, and I don’t know as they should be blamed very much.

The growth of the grayling I judge to be more rapid than brook trout. With us they have kept even pace with the highly prized California Mountain trout²² which we hatched at the same time. The average is about the same—that is, the weight—the best trout measuring five and the longest grayling six inches in length at this date—20th of November—it being bourne in mind that our C.M.T. are of very late hatch.

²¹Both these terms refer to coagulated sour milk. The first is derived from Irish terminology which has been Anglicized.

²²California Mountain Trout cannot be clearly identified. However, it must almost certainly be one of the number of varieties of the cutthroat trout, *Salmo clarkii*, or the rainbow trout, *Salmo irideus*, which are found in the streams of the west coast. The rainbow trout is a more likely candidate since it has been more widely distributed through conservation practices than the former species. What might have been true in 1879 is less clear.

Before closing this letter, we should say something more in reference to certain peculiarities attaching to the grayling ova. When first taken, ripe grayling eggs in normal condition vary in tint from a bright straw to a rich orange, the color, focalizing in a few minutes after fertilization, at the egg center, leaving the outer portion perfectly clear and transparent. They so appear to the naked eye for about twenty-four hours when the food sac begins to show itself, increasing rapidly to about $\frac{1}{2}$ the diameter of the egg, and like the mass of it, perfectly transparent. In five days more the nucleus develops into a huge pair of eyes and a hairlike body, which latter lies curled around the sac and becomes endowed with life, as is evidenced by the "kicking" of the restless little embryo.

When the period of incubation is nearly spent the shell suddenly shrivels and one might be led to think that no life existed within but at a spasmodic "kick" of the inmate on a slight brush of the feather out jumps the little grayling, as clear as the water itself, save only the two black specks which serve for eyes. On close inspection the food sac and body are discernible but the former is quite small and soon absorbed. There seems to be a disease affecting grayling eggs to which the ova of the other fish are not subject. This first becomes visible in the appearance of a minute opaque white speck on the outside of the egg, which soon develops into a film-like web and rapidly spreading, covers its entire surface. At the slightest attempt to move the egg the web is broken into infinitesimal fragments and is diffused over the screens and all its contents, carrying the contagion and certain death to every egg to which any portion of these gossamer fragments are allowed to adhere. The only remedy yet discovered is a constant and careful scrutiny of the screen and a prompt removal of every infected egg, no matter how insignificant the "speck" may appear and a thorough elimination of every fragmentary filament. If left in the trays, the eggs all become white and coated with that radicating[?] fungus growth common to all dead fish ova.

M. Metcalf

Battle Creek, Michigan
November 20, 1880

Reed City, Osceola Co., Mich.

Apr 29, 1880

Prof. S. F. Beard
Washington, D. C.

Dr. Sir:

In reply to your favor of the 9th inst. which just reached me by the hand of my son who just returned from Battle Creek from a deposit of grayling and eggs taken here during the past 3 weeks, I will say—He took with him, along with some 400 live fish, one male measuring 16 in. in length, which was the largest and best that I have ever seen. I have now in crate one 14 in. long with several 12 in. and under, down to the little yearling which average 5-½ in. But I will not send you one just yet for the reason that I am going west from this point, as soon as the storm now raging is past, to the N. branch of the Pere Marquette River where these fish have not been so much hunted and they are said to abound of a size much larger than any here. After a few days fishing there, and the grayling are found to be done spawning (which I think is about ended now), I will return to this place and send you one of the finest specimens I can procure—also will send to you a yearling to show you that these fish are not fully developed until the second year of their age as is shown by the peculiar characteristic marking—especially of the dorsal fin—being wanting.

In reference to making plaster casts and coloring to life, permit me to say to you that, adopting the language of my good friend, Von Ginopeicle [?] on whose land I am camping "nothing is very impossible". These fish are like the chameleon—changing color in a very few moments, even in the mating season when they are dressed in their most gaudy attire. Two weeks ago the appearance of a large male, cutting his way majestically upward through the rapidly rushing torrent with eye dilated and dorsal spread to its utmost, formed a most pleasing spectacle to behold. Now all this is changed. The spawning period having about reached its close, both males and females have measurably lost their brilliant hues and are assuming that duller tint they hence-forward wear until the annual mating season again approaches. Nevertheless they do partially recover in the summer weather something of their lost

colors but no pen and I fear the most artistic pencil will even fail to present to your optics a live grayling. I do not believe that from a dead fish you can possibly form even a tolerable idea of what a live one really is, but from such a specimen as I shall send can probably be gleaned the leading features you desire for the purpose of comparison and classification.

I believe you call this fish "Thymallus signifier" or same as the English . . . while Prof. Cope²³ in N.A. Encyclopedia²⁴ denominates him "Thymallus tricolor". I don't know whether or not I have heretofore said to you that long before this this fish was known to the general public, Dr. J. C. Parker,²⁵ then and now of Grand Rapids, Michigan, a member of the present state board of fish commissioners, proposed the name "Thymallus Michiganeusis". This was before a meeting of the "Kent Scientific Institute" a literary and natural history association connected with the high school of that city and a specimen of the then new fish was forwarded to Prof. Gill of Phila., I believe, but which as it later appeared never reached its intended destination. I state this fact in this connection, asking you whether it would not be as well now, provided you find this fish to be, as I believe you will, a denizen of our state, having its habitat in Michigan only to rebaptize him with his original and local christening? After returning here and visiting the brook trout streams of the extreme northern portion of this peninsula I will return some three weeks from now. I will have my son, Foster

²³This is almost certainly Professor Edward D. Coke of the Philadelphia Academy of Science who in 1864 had given the name of *tricolor* to the Michigan species of grayling.

²⁴This could be a later edition of D. Appleton and Company's "New American Cyclopaedia" or Saalfield Publishing Company's "New Americanized Encyclopedia" if it were published at this time. The editor could not resolve these points.

²⁵Dr. J. C. Parker of Grand Rapids was a long-time member of the Board of Michigan Fish Commissioners beginning his service in 1877 and holding the position of President of the Board in the mid-nineties. His interests were very broad and in 1874 he participated in an early archeological examination of forty-six Indian mounds in eight groups located at the southern boundaries of the city. His companions were Edwin A. Strong and Wright L. Coffinberry. They did the work under the auspices of the Kent Scientific Institute of Grand Rapids. This institute was begun in 1868 on the basis of an earlier Grand Rapids Lyceum of Natural History and was very active at this time. Among its sponsored activities were a natural history museum and a well-used lecture hall.

M. Metcalf,²⁶ who is something of an artist put on paper or canvass for your use as fair a representative of a live Michigan grayling as he is able to execute.

Trusting that with these aids you may be able to do fairly by our most magnificent "Thyma" whose eggs are now in process of incubation at Battle Creek and which I soon expect will develop into sprightly young "fry",

I am, Sir, very truly yours,
M. Metcalf.

PS My P.O. address for the next 3 weeks after 6 days here, will be Boyne Falls, Antrim County, Michigan

Prof. S. F. Baird
Washington, D. C.

May 5, 1880
Baldwin Lake Co., Michigan

I am thru here and got no grayling larger than 12 in. in length, therefore I will wait until I get home before sending you the grayling asked for and then prepare to send you the largest one that I have ever seen.

From all reliable accounts I am inclined to the belief that his fish-ship is the best specimen that you will ever get. At any rate a great many of our most practiced fishermen say that he is as large a fish as any that they have ever caught or seen.

I have taken and fertilized 2000 eggs here today from a single female that had evidently cast them and I did find a few other ripe eggs but at the moment did not get the necessary milt wherewith to fertilize them. The spawning season commenced here on March 14—as that is the date of my obtaining the first ripe eggs and milt on the Hersey River.²⁷ Also lost them on the 28th instant.

I expect to reach my Battle Creek home in about three weeks—until then my post office address will be Boyne Falls, Antrim Co., Mich.

MARTIN METCALF

²⁶Foster M. Metcalf was Martin Metcalf's eldest son, born in 1857. He became an engineer and for many years was connected with the American Steam Pump Company located at Battle Creek.

²⁷The Hersey River is a small, clear stream that, after passing through Reed City, angles southeasterly to join the Muskegon River at Hersey.

The Trail

Lloyd Berger Copeman

THE FOLLOWING ANECDOTE about my great-grandfather, Baldwin Copeman, who homesteaded a sizable plot of land several years before Michigan became a state, was told to me by my great-uncle, Sidney Copeman, of Oxford, who died in 1946 at the age of 96. Great-grandfather's property was located a few miles north of Oxford. M-24 almost bisects the original area.

Spring came early to Michigan Territory in the year 1816, and the season's first severe storm had been lashing the great virgin forests since early afternoon. Now, near midnight, the full force of the high winds and the driving rain were mercilessly pounding a lonely settler's cabin, some forty miles north of Detroit, with unrelenting fury. The sturdy log walls of the house shuddered and groaned under each renewed onslaught of the raging elements, and blinding bolts of vivid lightning hurtled earthward from the angry, swirling clouds, often striking some hapless forest giant, to send it crashing down in splintered ruin.

As one such shattering bolt slammed into the ground near the isolated cabin, the lurking form of an Indian was momentarily silhouetted against the background of the dense undergrowth as he stealthily made his way towards the low door near one end of the cabin's single, long wing. He reached it to be joined by a second Redman, then a third. Then cautiously, one of them commenced to slowly force open the heavy door, and closely followed by the others, made his way into the room's gloomy interior, which was only faintly illuminated by a smouldering fire on a great hearth at its far end.

Once inside, the Indians went swiftly about their business on moccasined feet. Careful to not arouse the still sleeping occupants in the main part of the house, they quickly shed their dripping blankets and brought forth muskets, tomahawks, and knives, and laid them in a pile in one corner of the room. Then placing several armfuls of dry wood, which was stacked by the chimney, on the

fire, they fell hungrily upon the ample supply of food that was placed on the table, eating their fill. Then each sought out one of the several bunks along the walls and quickly fell into an exhausted sleep.

Another weary party of Indian runners on their way north with important dispatches for the commander of distant Fort Mackinac had gratefully availed themselves of the hospitality and comforts provided them by my great-grandfather along the busy forest trail between Fort Detroit and points north!

Michigan News

DESCENDANTS OF EIGHT PRE-CIVIL WAR settlers in St. Clair County were honored February 13, 1961, by the Michigan Historical Commission and the Detroit Edison Company at a centennial farm dinner at Port Huron. Those honored were owners of eight St. Clair County farms, all of which came into the families just before the outbreak of the Civil War, and which were added to the list of Michigan centennial farms—farms which have remained in the same families for one hundred years or longer.

The owners are: Mr. and Mrs. James H. Apley of 14417 Hough Road, Berlin Township; Mr. and Mrs. Bruce Boadway of 12711 Wilkes Road, Brockway Township; Mr. and Mrs. Sylvester Coady of 514 Algonquin, Detroit, owners of farm at 3563 Cogley Road, Kenockee Township; Mr. and Mrs. Edward J. Fitz of 9385 Marquette Road, Wales Township; Mr. and Mrs. Fred Hart of 7770 Yager Road, Wales Township; Mr. and Mrs. William H. Magary of 9258 Bartel Road, Columbus Township; Mr. and Mrs. Lee Patterson of 8120 Frith Road, Columbus Township; and Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Roberts of 7978 Fargo Road, Greenwood Township.

Seven of the farms have borne the same family names during the entire period of family ownership. The name "Coady," has been associated with a quarter section of land in Kenockee Township since 1852 when Sylvester Coady, grandfather of the present owner, received the property in a land grant from the United States government. Coady, a native of Ireland, settled first in Ohio before moving to Kenockee Township, where he became the first township supervisor.

The year 1852 also saw the arrival of two other St. Clair County settlers whose surnames have become well known in their respective communities. August Fitz came from Germany to Wales Township and purchased a hundred acre farm now owned and operated by his grandson, Edward J. Fitz. Cost of the land was about \$2.00 an acre.

George Roberts, grandfather of Herbert Roberts, left Ireland to homestead a 120 acre parcel of land in Greenwood Township.



Courtesy of Detroit Edison Company

Left to Right: Dr. Lewis Beeson, Mr. Herbert Roberts, Mrs. Sylvester J. Coady, Mr. Sylvester J. Coady, Mrs. Herbert Roberts, Mrs. William Magary, Mrs. Edward J. Fitz, Mr. William Magary, Mr. Edward J. Fitz, Mrs. Lee Patterson, Mr. Lee Patterson, Mr. Simo Pynnönen, Mrs. Bruce Boardway, Mr. Bruce Boardway, Mr. Fred Hart.



In 1853, George R. Magary, also a native of Ireland, purchased the Columbus Township farm of 120 acres from Lansing Mozner. It is now owned by his grandson, William H. Magary.

Samuel Patterson, grandfather of Lee Patterson, came from Ireland to Rochester, New York, in the early 1850's. In 1857, he attended a United States government land auction where he bought a forty acre tract of land in Columbus Township.

The Wales Township farm now owned by Fred Hart also has been under the same family name for more than a century. James Hart, a native of Ireland and the great-grandfather of the present owner, homesteaded an entire section of land.

Bruce Boadway is the grandson of John Boadway, a Canadian who purchased a forty acre farm in Brockway Township in 1860. The property was purchased for \$240., or \$6.00 an acre.

The Apleys live in a large farm home which was built in 1856 by Mrs. Apley's great-grandfather, Albert Sperry. The first family owner bought the Berlin Township farm in 1853.

Dr. Lewis Beeson, executive secretary of the Michigan Historical Commission, commended the centennial farmers for the important contributions they and their ancestors have made to the development of the agricultural industry of Michigan and the entire nation. Also delivering congratulatory messages were Kenneth J. Mudie, manager of Detroit Edison's St. Clair sales district; Simo Fynnonen, Michigan State agricultural agent for St. Clair County; and J. Clare Cahill, supervisor of rural sales for the Edison Company.

The Michigan Centennial Farm program was inaugurated in 1948 by the Commission and is cosponsored by The Detroit Edison Company and Consumers Power Company. Under the program, each owner receives a centennial farm certificate and a plaque. To date, there are thirty-eight centennial farms in St. Clair County and over fifteen hundred throughout the state.

IN THE SEPTEMBER, 1959 issue of *Michigan History*, there appeared the diary of Charles L. Sheldon, a drummer in the Civil War. He mentioned, under date of October 29, that he went out with Con. Dr. John L. Melton, who edited the diary for publication,

stated in footnote 20 on page 323 that "Con's full name is never given. He is, as later becomes evident, bandmaster."

A letter from Miss Alice D. Serrell of Rochester suggests that it is entirely possible that "Con" is Conrad Hoffman. Sheldon mentions Hoffman under date of Friday, October 7, 1864.

Miss Serrell continues that about the time of the Civil War there was in and around Pontiac a dance band known as "Quatermass & Hoffman," and that she has an advertising card which reads as follows:

Quatermass & Hoffman
Celebrated Quadrille Band
Are prepared to furnish
The Very Best of Music for
Public and Private Parties . . .

Wm. Quatermass

Con. Hoffman

Pontiac, Michigan

MR. BRUCE C. HARDING HAS ACCEPTED appointment as archivist on the staff of the Michigan Historical Commission. He replaces Mr. Vernon Beal, who left the Commission's staff last October. Mr. Harding's primary duty will be to examine records disposals of all state and local governmental offices, select those records of value to researchers, and arrange for their transfer to the state archives in Lansing, or in cases of county or other local records, for their deposit in a qualified local repository. He will operate under the provisions of Public Act 72 of 1952 and Public Act 59 of 1955, which established the Commission's authority in the field of archival analysis and preservation.

Mr. Harding was formerly with the Ohio Historical Society, Columbus. He is a graduate of the Central Washington College and Washington State University, and holds certificates in archival administration from Radcliffe-Harvard Institute on Archives and Historical Preservation, American University, and the National Archives and Records Service.

Any county or local public official interested in the disposal of valueless records may secure the services of Mr. Harding by writing him at the Commission's office in Lansing. He will determine which records have permanent value and hence should be preserved.

WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY at Kalamazoo finds its students interested in Michigan history and advises that three faculty members and a fourth retired member are teaching classes this spring with an enrollment of 325 persons. Dr. Willis F. Dunbar, head of the history department and a member of the Michigan Historical Commission, has fifty-five undergraduate students on campus; Dr. Alan Brown, University archivist, teaches two undergraduate sections of fifty-five each and a graduate seminar in Michigan history for eleven persons. Off the campus, Dr. Brown has another fifty students at East Grand Rapids, and Charles Starring has twenty-three students in an evening class at Decatur. Dr. James O. Knauss, retired head of the history department, has returned to teach a field service class in Muskegon this spring and has seventy-six students enrolled.

MEMORIAL DAY 1961 HERALDED the start of a new season at Fort Mackinac and at Fort Michilimackinac, the fourth since the Mackinac Island State Park Commission began a program to develop fully the historical potential of these famous posts at the Straits of Mackinac. The likes of this program have never been seen in Michigan, and only rarely has a historical project of such magnitude been attempted elsewhere in the country.

Since 1958 modern exhibits, period settings, dioramas, and historical murals have been installed in Fort Mackinac on Mackinac Island, telling the story of that fort from the time it was built by the British in 1779-81, through the War of 1812, the fur-trading era, and on down to 1895 when the fort was turned over to Michigan to become the state's first state park.

At Fort Michilimackinac in Mackinaw City, an archaeological excavation program, still underway, has attracted widespread attention from archaeologists and historians all over the country and has made possible the first authentic reconstruction of a part of this eighteenth-century French and English fort. First opened to the public in 1960, the restored fort this year will include, in addition to what tourists could see last year, the King's storehouse, several more fur-traders' houses, the completed palisade, and the commanding officer's house, the latter to be built before the visitors'

eyes during the summer months. A gatehouse, extensive landscaping, parking facilities, and a children's play area have greatly increased the attractiveness and usefulness of the park grounds surrounding the fort.

Within four years the park commission has built these two historic forts into two of the major tourist attractions in the Middle West; and the program is being financed entirely by revenue bonds, without spending any public funds. Despite the fact that the forts are open only from Memorial Day through October 1, a total of over six hundred thousand men, women, and children have paid admission to Fort Mackinac since 1958 and to Fort Michilimackinac since 1960. With a break from the weather man and a continued upswing in the nation's economy, it is very possible that total attendance will approach or reach the one million mark by next fall.

Book Reviews and Notes

Landlooker in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. From the Reminiscences of John M. Longyear. Edited by Mrs. Carroll Paul.¹ (St. Paul, Minn., 1960. 80 p. Illustrations, maps, glossary of place names, and index. \$2.00 plus 25c postage.) May be secured from the Marquette County Historical Society.

Landlooker in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, a publication by the Marquette County Historical Society, is a valuable addition to the history of the state. These eighty pages of John Munro Longyear's first five eventful years in the western half of the Upper Peninsula were written down by him not long before his death at the age of seventy-two in 1922. Those of us from the north country recall him as one of the great figures in land, timber, and mining.

These reminiscences tell of only the formative years from 1873 to 1878 when as a landlooker for others he spent most of the time in the forests of the western part of the peninsula. What he saw and learned then doubtlessly led to the great fortune in mining and timber which he built in the subsequent years. Longyear never boasts, but his fearlessness stands out in the simple narrative he tells. He had no fear at all in the forest, although it was still largely in its original state and was peopled by Indians. Bear, lynx, wildcats, and wolves roamed about in the woods. He did not carry a gun because it burdened him too much. He carried a small pistol for killing partridge to provide food. Some time when alone and apparently lost, he confesses to panic; but always calm returned and he found his way to his camp. The naming of section, town and range shows his attention to detail—the kind of detail which becomes habitual with a landlooker. His kindly attitude toward the Indians and his praise of the strength and stamina of his aides indicates why he got on so well in his perilous tasks.

As his daughter Helen Longyear Paul (Mrs. Carroll Paul) says in the Foreword, "he put aside his landlooking duties after those five years and went on to great success with his Norrie mine and big business." In the last paragraph of her interesting introduction, she speaks of her father's part in the development of the Gogebic,

¹Mrs. Paul died unexpectedly October 30, 1960, en route to Marquette after attending the Third Annual Local History Conference at Detroit. She had delivered an address on "An Upper Peninsula Research Collection," at the conference and had received an award from the American Association for State and Local History for a "lifetime of distinguished leadership in local history activities in Michigan's Upper Peninsula."

Menominee, and Mesabi iron ranges and of his venturing in coal mining in far away Spitsbergen, north of Norway. We would have liked to have had her tell that interesting story. All who have heard her at historical society meetings will recall her great gift of storytelling, her sparkling humor, and her great knowledge.

Longyear's narrative is valuable in telling succeeding generations of the character-building that comes from hardship, self reliance in getting out of difficulties, and sheer determination in conquering fear and panic. It also tells well the story of the rugged days in the last half of the nineteenth century in the northern peninsula when its natural resources helped to industrialize the nation. We are indebted to the vigorous Marquette County Historical Society and to Mrs. Paul for this splendid addition to our lore of the north.

It is interesting to note that in the informative glossary of names, probably the work of Mrs. Paul who was an authority, Michigan is said to be an anglicized form of an Ojibway name meaning "large lake", since the Indians thought of Michigan and Huron as a single body of water, largest of our Great Lakes. This is a conception that I have long had and have expressed to many.

St. Ignace

PRENTISS M. BROWN

Great Lakes Shipwrecks and Survivals. By William Ratigan. (Grand Rapids, Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1960. 300 p. Illustrations and index. \$6.00.)

William Ratigan, well known as a writer on the Great Lakes, its shipping, and its greatest engineering feat, the bridging of the Straits of Mackinac, has in this, his latest work, produced a veritable encyclopaedia of lake shipwrecks and their sometimes accompanying survivals. With more than three hundred lake tragedies listed in the extensive index, the reader of his book can count on finding in its pages an account of the well-remembered wrecks from La Salle's *Griffin* in September, 1679, to the doomed *Carl D. Bradley* in November, 1958. In addition, there are briefer records of scores of lesser shipwrecks mentioned by name and with such information as the author had brought to the surface from a wide variety of sources.

Mr. Ratigan would appear to have taken the loss of the *Bradley* as a sort of text for his book as he opens the volume with a twenty-two page account of this vessel which, when launched at Lorain in 1927, had the proud distinction of being the longest over-all length ship on the Great Lakes—"600 feet of riveted plates formed into a hull that was judged unsinkable, the safest vessel on the Great Lakes."

The author divides his book into five main sections, one for each of the great American lakes with a brief final section in which he has something to say about survivals. One of the most remarkable he finds in deck watchman Frank Mays and first mate Elmer Fleming who, alone of the crew of thirty-five, lived to tell of the breakup of the *Bradley*. Brute strength and expert swimming ability are far less important to survival, he concludes, than the indomitable will to live.

In the pages of the first large section, that devoted to Lake Michigan, we find in addition to the *Bradley* the more or less familiar story of the *Lady Elgin*, Canadian-built passenger steamer, which, on the night of September 8, 1860, was rammed in the darkness by the schooner *Augusta* and sank with a loss of 297 lives. By official count this was the second-worst disaster in loss of life in Great Lakes shipping history. But Lake Michigan was to know an even greater disaster on July 24, 1915, when the passenger steamer *Eastland*, crowded with holiday-makers, capsized at her Chicago dock, drowning 835 men, women and children. Quick thinking and prompt action on the part of Captain William T. Bright saved the lives of hundreds who would otherwise have increased the death toll. The author claims that Lake Michigan has had more major shipping disasters than all the other Great Lakes combined due to its great length, its prevailing winds sweeping that great length, and the shifting currents related to the Straits.

Turning now to Lake Huron, a second boundary of the state, Mr. Ratigan has plenty to write about when he deals with the great storm of November, 1913, which sent eight good vessels to the bottom without one survival, and wrecked more than twenty others with a total death list of 235, of whom 178 were crewmen on Lake Huron. Huron's two big bays, Saginaw and Georgian, deserve chapters by themselves to record such wrecks as that of the *Waubuno* in 1879 or the *Asia* in 1882, this latter with but two survivors from a crew and passenger list of around 125. Both bays are strewn with the wrecks of earlier days.

Lake Superior, Michigan's third lake boundary, is often described as the safest to navigate because of its very size but it, too has a full share of lake tragedies. Its most ill-fated wreck was that of the Canadian passenger steamer *Algoma*, which went on the rocky shore of Isle Royale on November 7, 1885, with a loss of 37 lives. The most mysterious was the disappearance of the steamer *Bannockburn* on the night of November 20, 1902. This vessel has become the "Flying Dutchman" in the folklore of the lakes. More tragic, however, was the loss of the *Mataafa*, wrecked just outside Duluth harbor and in plain sight of thousands of people. Nine men froze to death on its deck.

Lake Erie has no rival in the number of its recorded shipwrecks. Their remains lie strewn like bananas in its waters. Between the mouth

of the Detroit River and Long Point was the point of disaster for several large passenger ships bearing hundreds of immigrants headed for the western states. In no season has such a total loss of life been recorded as Erie took in 1850, the estimate being 450. Fire claimed many ships and it has been estimated that in the decade of the forties one thousand lives were taken by fires and explosions. Erie claimed half that number in a single year. In 1852 there were around two hundred lives lost in the collision between the *Atlantic* and the new propeller-driven *Ogdensburg*.

Of all the lakes, Ontario has probably the worst record for fires. The well-known ballad of Brave John Maynard tells of one man's bravery in the peril of fire. But the most disastrous fire in this lake was that of the *Noronic* which burned at a Toronto pier on the evening of September 16, 1949, with death coming to 118 passengers.

The book is attractively printed, has numerous illustrations by Reynold H. Weidenaar, and is provided with a good index which lists all the vessels mentioned in the text.

London, Ontario

FRED LANDON

State and Local Government in Michigan. By Ferris E. Lewis. (Hillsdale, Hillsdale School Supply, Inc., 1960. ix, 253 p. Maps and Charts. \$2.40; paper bound, \$1.80.)

In language that is direct, clear, and well within the ken of high school students, this 253 page text covers Michigan state government and that of the local units within the state.

This is definitely not a reform publication. While here and there the author points out spots where there might be improvement, he does so mildly and with a fair statement of both sides of the controversy.

He provides a good bibliography of reference material and from time to time in the text furnishes reference to sources of more detailed information, particularly the *Michigan Manual*.

The government of the state is presented in its historical setting with a very brief covering of the periods of French and British occupation and of the period of territorial government, followed by a brief history of the state's progress up to the time of the present constitution.

In fitting the state into the national government he likewise gives a little history and a very clear exposition of the theory of delegated power, residual power in the states, and notes the change that has taken place in the way of increase in federal power and the corresponding decrease of state power.

Our present constitution is covered. What is said, however, about the method of calling a constitutional convention was written before the people changed the rules in November, 1960.

The author shows a remarkable understanding of the legislature, both as to organization and procedure. The procedure in the drafting and introduction of bills and handling by the committees, and the function of the Committee of the Whole, are all covered with clarity. A list is given of the committees of both Houses.

In discussing the executive branch of state government the author notes the tendency to limit the power of the governor by state constitution and contrasts that with the almost unlimited power of the president of the United States and explains this attitude of the states by the historical fact that the colonial governors were appointed by the King of England and the people emphasized their legislative branches and sought to check the king's governors as much as they could, and that when the states became part of our present government they kept part of that habit.

After discussing the governor's office, the author takes up the other elected officials, gives the duties of each, and then deals with the principal divisions of state government headed by appointed officers or commissions.

In covering anything as big and as complicated as the government of the state and all of its municipalities, it is probably not only natural, but inevitable, that there should be some minor slips, and there are some. For instance, the director of agriculture is not appointed by the governor but by the commission. The State Department of Public Health does not license physicians. Appeals from property tax assessments go to the State Tax Commission and not to the Board of Tax Appeals. The State Police Department in Michigan existed prior to 1935. The new part of the Boys' Vocational School is at Whitmore Lake and not Walled Lake, and judicial appointments are not subject to senate confirmation. In the description of the selection of jurors the author is correct for the lower peninsula but not for the Upper Peninsula. Also, sheriffs' departments are not generally under civil service, and a justice's jurisdiction enables him to sentence people up to ninety days, not just thirty. Some of these errors undoubtedly are stenographic or errors of the proofreader, and they by no means offset the general excellence of this book.

Here and there throughout, the text is supplemented by a chart giving the essential information in very simple form.

In describing the judicial department, the student is given a brief discourse on the origin and nature of the common law, upon which so many of our court decisions are based, and also of the relationship between the jurisdiction of the state courts and the federal courts. The author does a rather unusual thing in devoting a couple of pages to definitions of legal terms that might be confusing to a student.

One of the virtues of the book is that the several major divisions are so written as to be sufficiently independent of one another so that a

teacher wishing to follow the more logical order of starting the class on the parts of government close to the student—the school district, township, village, city, and county—may do so without difficulty. And again, the sections on voting procedures and political parties can be readily used at about the time of an election when interest is higher than normal.

The major division on voting procedures is unusually enlightening. It starts with the voter's qualifications; registration procedure; gives the correct philosophy underlying the primaries, namely, that they are party functions; duplicates of ballots are included, as well as illustrations on how to correctly and how to incorrectly mark ballots; and even the procedure as to sticker candidates is covered. Unfortunately, there is a little confusion as to dates and times. The spring primary date is the third Monday in February, not the first Monday of March. The August primary is on Tuesday following the first Monday in August, the November election is on the Tuesday after the first Monday of that month, and our polls are open from 7 o'clock in the morning until 8 o'clock at night, not just 7:00.

One little error that carries a chuckle is clearly that of a stenographer or proofreader: "As was shown in the last chapter, Michigan is *basely* a two-party system, namely, the Republicans and the Democrats."

The author's exposition of party organization and party functioning in our state is excellent. Precinct delegates, however, are chosen at the August primaries.

In discussing township government, the author notes that our form of organization originated under conditions varying greatly from those that now prevail and indicates that, in his judgment, the form of organization is not well adapted to meet the problems of the big fringe townships. Nevertheless, he gives a very clear and sufficient explanation of just what the township form of organization is and what it is supposed to do.

In discussing the share of the state sales tax going to schools, apparently that money has been confused with the primary school money, as the statement is made that it is divided according to the number of children on the school census. Instead, of course, it is distributed under the state aid formula in which school membership—not census—is one of the factors.

In discussing village government he not only describes the form of organization, the two types of villages that we have, but he covers the matter of how they become incorporated.

The discussion of county government is concise but adequate and refreshingly devoid of such worn phrases as "horse and buggy government," "the dark continent of American government," and the like. The mortgage tax he mentions has been displaced by the state intangibles tax.

City government, with an adequate description of the three types, and variations within the types, is covered clearly and sufficiently, with due notice given to the problem of city clusters and general metropolitan difficulties.

Unusual in a text of this kind is the treatment of education, in that the job is done much more thoroughly than is customary. In a discussion of higher education he names our institutions, briefly giving their form of organization and also listing the private and denominational colleges, except that Hillsdale was forgotten.

Finally, there is another unusual division. Instead of mixing in most of the detail as to financing the various parts of government with the discussion of their form of organization and functions, Mr. Lewis has put most of that material in a chapter by itself. He notes the constant increase in taxation and should be applauded for this very simple, but so often ignored fact: "Second, people are constantly demanding more and more services from their various governments." He gives a summary of the state's budget for 1958 and 1959. The very dizzy matter of assessment and equalization in connection with the property tax and the work of the county tax allocation board are covered about as understandingly as could be done.

This is a good book and fills a real need.

Michigan State Assn. of Supervisors
Education Division

D. HALE BRAKE

Students of Abraham Lincoln and of American history will be forever grateful to the Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission for the publication of the three-volume reference work, *Lincoln Day by Day: A Chronology, 1809-1865*. The attempt to find out what Lincoln was doing every day of his life was inaugurated many years ago as a project of the Lincoln Centennial Association of Springfield, Illinois. Eventually, the successor of this organization, the Abraham Lincoln Association, published chronologies for the years of Lincoln's life from his birth in 1809 to 1861. Now, under the over-all direction of editor-in-chief Earl Schenck Miers, the published chronology has been revised by William E. Baringer; and a chronology for the war years, 1861-1865, for which none had previously existed, has been prepared by C. Percy Powell. Very little information is available for Lincoln's youth so that the chronology for the period 1809-1829 occupies only nine pages. Subsequently the chronology becomes more complete and fewer and fewer blank days remain in each year until for the period from January 1, 1861, to April 15, 1865, only forty-one days remain for which Lincoln's activities cannot be recorded. A 136-page index to the entire set appears in volume three. Copies may be secured from the Superintendent of Documents, United States Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. Volumes I and II are \$2.00 each; volume III is \$2.50.

The Story of Portage. By Elsket Barstow Chaney. (Chicago, Stromberg Allen Co., 1960. 76 p. Illustrations and Maps, \$2.00.) May be secured from author at Onekama.

To read a book and say "I enjoyed it" is, indeed, a tribute. I have read *The Story of Portage*, by Elsket Barstow Chaney, and I thoroughly enjoyed it.

It is a somewhat disjointed collection of historical material, legal transcripts, reminiscences, and personality sketches, but it is a booklet which tells the story of another community in Michigan. The author has compiled a rather fascinating collection about the community of Portage about which the author, evidently, knows much.

One feature of the book reflects a common error made so often by those authors who write about a given community. State history, Indian history, and geology should be left alone. It is repeated so often that the reader has a tendency to skip reading it. It has been done before . . . by authorities.

Also, the author failed to catch a few typographical errors and wrong names.

No review of *The Story of Portage* would be complete without mention of the informal and exceedingly clever cover art and ink illustrations by James and Dorothy Siddall.

And the book does an excellent job for the Portage community. It is a job which needs doing in communities all over our colorful state. We need more Chaney's to do historical research and compile similar booklets that the richness and color of our pioneer way of life may not be relegated to the attic of lost memories.

Traverse City

AL BARNES

A Soviet View of the American Past, an Annotated Translation of the Section on American history in the Great Soviet Encyclopedia (Bolshaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopedia). Preface by Adlai E. Stevenson. (Madison, The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1960. 64 p. Bibliography. \$1.00.)

In the Preface, Adlai E. Stevenson has set forth the value of this translation of the *Great Soviet Encyclopaedia's* section on American history in that it reveals "the streaks in the mirror the Soviet historians hold up to the American past," and makes it available to the American public. Here is an opportunity to read and view the picture of America that is the only presentation available to most Russians. It is a concept prepared to fit Marx and Lenin ideology.

An Exile from Canada. By Fred Landon. (Toronto, Longmans, Green and Company, 1960. 321 p. Bibliography, appendix, and index. \$5.00.)

Soon after the close of the War of 1812, radical leaders arose in the Canadian provinces who strove to channel the rising tide of personal grievance and discontent into a movement for political reform. Drawing inspiration from American democracy and British and French liberalism, these leaders and their press turned in the end from a demand for the elimination of specific abuses to an insistence on constitutional change. The provincial executives, monopolized by cliques responsible only to the distant colonial office in London, reacted savagely to criticism and to any suggestion of democratic control. As party bitterness and violence mounted to a crescendo, the moderate reformers dropped away leaving the field to a small group of extremists who had come to accept, as principles and objectives, their enemies' charges of democracy, republicanism, and separation from the Empire. The ill-planned and ill-led insurrections of 1837 were quickly crushed; but many of the rebels and reformers who fled to the United States, as well as large numbers of American citizens, began to organize and train there for the "liberation" of the Canadas. During 1838 several abortive attacks were made by the "Patriot armies" at various points along the border from the Detroit region to the St. Lawrence.

Dr. Fred Landon, well-known historian of Canadian-American relations, the Great Lakes, and Southwestern Ontario, has constructed a biography of Elijah Woodman, one of the prisoners taken during the invasion of Windsor on December 4, 1838. The major portion of the book deals with Woodman's experiences while a prisoner in Canada, the long journey half-way around the world to the British penal colony of Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania), and his life there as a convict. The narratives of nine of the prisoners were published after their release or escape; eight appeared between the years 1834 and 1850, the ninth in 1864. Dr. Landon's work adds one more to this list; but because of the scanty remnants of Woodman's diary that have survived, and the intermittent nature of his letters, the author has had to rely to a considerable extent on the earlier narratives, as well as on various other sources.

Dr. Landon gives an account of Woodman's ancestry, the state of Maine where he was born, and the north shore of Lake Erie in Upper Canada to which he emigrated with his family in 1830. Society and politics of Upper Canada, the coming of the rebellion, and the border incidents of 1838, are given adequate treatment. Information about Woodman is sketchy until his arrival back at London, Canada, as a prisoner, following the Windsor attack. He had managed to avoid

involvement in the rebellion, although his sympathies were plainly with the Reformers, only to fall victim to the Patriot recruiters in Detroit on his return from a trip to Wisconsin.

Woodman received a pardon in 1845, but it was two years before he could obtain passage home, and he died on board the ship bearing him to the United States. The author's sympathetic treatment of the man illumines an attractive personality, quite unlike that of many others who were drawn into this impractical undertaking. The reader is also struck by the contrast between the relatively good conditions on the ship carrying Woodman and his fellows to their island prison and those on the English convict vessels. The horrors of the British transportation system, whether on the long trip overseas or in the penal colonies, are vividly depicted.

Dr. Landon has written a most interesting and scholarly book. His attention to factual detail never leads him to lose sight of the broad view. Footnote references are few, but there is an excellent bibliography as well as an essay on the principal sources. A map of southwestern Ontario showing places mentioned in the text would have been an aid to those readers unfamiliar with its geography. It should also be noted that John Talbot was not editor of the *St. Thomas Liberal* in 1832 and 1833 (p. 64-65). Dr. Landon is inclined to doubt the statement that Edward Allan Talbot, the London editor, had to flee because of his liberal views, as stated in the *Quebec Gazette*. However, additional confirmation of this appears in another account printed in *Mackenzie's Gazette* after Edward's death on January 9, 1839 (not February as stated on page 280). Such small matters do not, of course, detract from the general excellence of the book.

Wayne State University

FRED C. HAMIL

Michigan Statistical Abstract. Compiled under the direction of Roger L. Bowlby. (East Lansing, Michigan State University, Third edition, 1960. 273 p. Index.)

Mr. Eli P. Cox, Director, states in The Foreword the purpose of the book: i.e., "The Michigan Statistical Abstract is published for the convenience of those who need quick access to a wide range of detailed statistical information about Michigan, its counties, cities, and metropolitan areas." Chapter headings of Population, Education and Vital Statistics; Climate and Land Area; Income, Employment and Public Welfare; Agriculture; Mining; Housing; Manufacturing; Trade; Finance and Insurance; Communication, Transportation and Public Utilities; Selected Services; Government; are indicative of the contents of the book. A topical index is of further assistance in locating desired information. All in all, it is a very handy source of information.

A Chronology of Highland Park Parent-Teacher Associations, 1921-1961. By committee of parents and teachers. 1961. 80 p. Foreword by Ellen C. Hathaway, Council Historiographer.

To honor the fortieth birthday of the Parent-Teacher movement in Highland Park, a committee prepared a chronology of the development and activities in the public schools of Highland Park. The report is not only a record of great accomplishments but might equally serve as a stimulant to parents of other school districts on ways and projects to better the educational environment and bring about closer cooperation between the home and the school.

Canada and the United States, the Civil War Years. By Robin W. Winks. (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1960. xix, 430 p. Index. \$6.50.)

The undefended Canadian-American frontier has long symbolized the friendliness of Canadian-American relations. In 1950, Colonel Charles P. Stacey exploded the myth of the undefended frontier for the nineteenth century; and Dr. Winks of Yale University spells out this contention in a detailed description of the four years of acute tension between the United States and Great Britain, for if war had come, Canada would have been the chief base of operations, and perhaps a battleground. In 1861-62, on the one hand, war might have come from Secretary of State William H. Seward's chauvinistic threat to unite the North and South by foreign war, but was prevented during the Trent Incident by his growth in wisdom and diplomatic stature; on the other hand, from the dispatch of British troops to Canada and the British temptation to recognize the South; and in 1863-65, from Confederate land raids from Canada. American weakness avoided war in 1861-62; American, British, and Canadian statesmanship averted it in 1863-65. With the help of an excellent thirty-page index, students of Michigan history will find much of interest in this book.

Both Canada and the North also had direct grievances against one another, which involved Britain diplomatically, but which might also have involved her militarily. Among the many grievances, Canada denounced Northern recruiters violating Canadian frontiers to kidnap Canadians for Northern armies; and the North resented the shift of Canadian sympathy from the North to the South. This shift began with the Canadian inability to comprehend President Lincoln's initial failure to denounce slavery, and was accentuated when the arrival of British reinforcements in 1861 and 1862 made Canadians aware of the seriousness of the situation. Afraid of Northern resentment because of

their own hostility, and perforce dependent upon Britain, Canadians yet blamed Britain for their country's predicament. This partly explains Canada's rejection of the Militia Bill of 1862—an action which made Canadians objects of British dislike and incited Little Englanders to anticipate, if not suggest, the peaceful separation of Canada from Britain, an attitude Canadians bitterly resented. By 1864, however, to justify Britain's continued military support, Canada voted a huge sum to defend her right to become a nation within the British Empire, a development which was the chief consequence of the Civil War in Canada. Although Canadian leaders exaggerated Northern threats for this purpose, they could not regard them as Dr. Winks suggests as mere bogeys, because of four years of border tension, the denunciation of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, and memories less than two decades old of the consequences of "Manifest Destiny" to Mexico.

Dr. Winks has broken much new ground in this exhaustive, if not exhausting, account of Canadian-American relations during the Civil War. Thus the interest, sharpness, and significance of the book is muffled by the plethora of detail and the awesome bibliographical support, which is doubtless the outcome of the book's being an expanded doctoral dissertation. Dr. Winks might well take the advice of an editor of the *London Times* to a new correspondent: "Condense enough to make the meaning absolutely certain." Furthermore, in addition to a minor error or two, the book contains a very serious fault in overestimating the role of Governor General Monck in the direction and implementation of Canadian external relations—an overestimation which Dr. Winks himself admits in his "Note on Sources." This role did not reduce the government of the province of Canada in external relations to that of a rubber stamp. Undoubtedly, the Governor General then enjoyed considerable discretion in external affairs, a discretion which is often difficult but essential to establish in any study of the embryonic Canadian nationality. Nevertheless, in spite of this serious fault no student of Canadian-American or Anglo-American relations during the Civil War can afford to miss this book.

Michigan State University

NORMAN PENLINGTON

One part of Manistique's centennial observance in July, 1960, was the publication of the *Manistique Centennial*, a souvenir book of eighty unnumbered pages. It was published by the Manistique Centennial Incorporation, and may be secured from the secretary, Katherine (Mrs. Earl H.) LeBrasseur, for \$1.00. The history of Manistique and the surrounding area is told in words and pictures. It is a concise and clear story of the founding of the community and its growth. The pictures depict the activities and industry of the past and the natural beauty spots of the present.

Blessed Shall Be Thy Basket and Thy Store. By Donald S. Rickard. (Exeter, New Hampshire, The Phillips Exeter Academy Print Shop, 1960. 42 p. Illustrations and map.)

This little book, printed privately, not only traces the Rickard family's vicissitudes but indirectly gives much information of the economic conditions in England of the life of a miner, the migration to other lands and to the United States, the opening of the copper mines in the Keweenaw Peninsula, and the development of the mining industry. We know more about the Cornish after reading this book.

The Copperheads in the Middle West. By Frank L. Klement. (Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1960. xiv, 342 p. Illustrations and index. \$7.50.)

This study of the "peace Democrats" in the Midwest during the Civil War has particular interest for readers of Michigan history, since it is the first authoritative study of the so-called Copperhead movement as it appeared in this region. Professor Klement, a member of the history department at Marquette University, constructs his study about two major points.

First, the book explodes the thesis that the Copperheads were necessarily proslavery, pro-Southern, or treasonable. They were, the author believes, "conservatives" who "opposed the changes which war was bringing to America," motivated by "a tangle of economic, religious, social, personal and sectional threads" of interest. Many of them were Irish-Americans, German-Americans, or of recent immigrant origin; many were lower-middle class, middle class, or minor professional men. They were all especially sensitive to governmental interference in private affairs and to wartime infringements of civil liberties. Second, Professor Klement views the Midwestern Copperheads as political reflections of traditional Midwestern regional interests. They hated Eastern industrialists and bankers, opposed revisions of tariffs and taxes, and fought the hydra-headed railroad monopolies. They were, the author believes, a sort of link between the prewar Jacksonian agrarians and the Populists, via the Greenbackers and Grangers. A surprisingly large number of wartime Copperhead leaders, he points out, appeared in key positions in postwar protest organizations, and even in the liberal wing of several state supreme courts.

Professor Klement's study is in some ways a re-evaluation; in others it breaks new ground by delving into hitherto unused newspaper and manuscript sources. It is a needed book, and a good one. The writing of postwar political history was left chiefly to the Republicans, who found the opportunity to discredit their opponents too good to miss.

Any Democrats who opposed the war, or New England abolitionists, or bankers, or Union generals, or the policies of the Lincoln administration were thus automatically classified as obstructionists by writers who were charitable or traitors by those who were not. While others, of course, have suggested that there were honest men who genuinely disagreed with things between 1861 and 1865 in the North, Professor Klement provides proof to set the record straight.

In the process he rediscovers some strong and interesting characters, worthy of further study, especially among those Copperhead editors who flailed away throughout the war and sometimes suffered for it. Such doughty men as Samuel Medary of the *Columbus Crisis*, Dennis Mahony of the *Dubuque Herald* (whom spent four months in jail), Wilbur Storey of the *Chicago Times*, or M.M. "Brick" Pomeroy of the *La Crosse Democrat* (who had the Midwest's most hair-curling editorial vocabulary) deserve to be remembered. So too do those political figures who continued to speak out, wisely or unwisely, such as Daniel Voorhees of Indiana, S. S. Cox of Ohio, and the ill-fated Clement Vallandigham, whom Lincoln virtually banished.

The book is a contribution of note both to Civil War and to Midwestern history. It is also a timely reminder of what happens to civil liberties under the stress of wartime emotion and the strain of hysterical partisanship. The deliberate infringement of personal rights, the harassment of dissent, the secret accusations and false arrests—these are grim reminders of the dark underside of history, and this study underscores them.

Michigan State University

RUSSEL B. NYE

Michigan Men in the Civil War. By Ida C. Brown. Bulletin No. 9, Michigan Historical Collections. (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, 1959. 32 p. Illustrations.)

Supplement, Bulletin No. 9, Michigan Historical Collections, 1960. 28 p. Illustrations.

Miss Ida C. Brown, Librarian of the Michigan Historical Collections at the University of Michigan, made a comprehensive examination of more than one hundred diaries and letters of Michigan Civil War soldiers in the files of the Michigan Historical Collections. With a historical introduction and the descriptive entries of the 113 papers, the Bulletin is interesting to the general reader and helpful to researchers in the field of the Civil War. So much interest resulted from the publication in 1959 of the Bulletin that an additional 126 letters and diaries were received and have been evaluated and published in the Supplement.

Erastus Corning—Merchant and Financier, 1794-1872. By Irene D. Neu. (Ithaca, N.Y., Cornell University Press, 1960. 212 p. Bibliography, and index. \$4.00.)

Professor Neu's biographical study of Erastus Corning, New York merchant and financier, has particularly interesting associations of financial interests in the East to the early development of Michigan.

The New York financial interests of this period have not only a bearing on early Michigan history but should attract readers interested in Michigan history due to the fact that many early settlers of this state were from New York.

Early shipments of merchandise by Corning extended as far west as Michigan. His banking interests in Detroit in the early 1830's undoubtedly gave settlers and speculators an advantage and sense of security even in the wilderness.

Corning personally traveled into Michigan to develop his interests. He was prominent in the development of railroads in Michigan and in large land holdings, though there appears no reference regarding over three million acres of land granted to the railroads for their construction during the period covered.

Profiting by his early experience with the Utica and Schenectady Railroad in New York in 1833, and being primarily interested in promoting sale of his steel products, Corning encouraged Eastern interests into taking hold of Michigan Central, identified as a 145 mile state owned, decaying line, between Detroit and Kalamazoo. His financial maneuvering to secure a debt involved bonds held by eastern interests against a five million dollar loan made to Michigan in 1838.

In 1849 the railroad was completed from Detroit to New Buffalo and provided a connecting link to Chicago. Mr. Corning continued to be a prominent figure in the development of railroads in Michigan.

Mr. Corning was prominent in another major public works program in Michigan—the construction of the canal around the Saint Mary's Falls in the Upper Peninsula. Here again we find the maneuvering of financial interests in the East and the ultimate control of valuable areas of Michigan mineral and timber lands. Reference is made to the contract with the Michigan Legislature for the construction of the ship canal. By an act of the Michigan Legislature of February 5, 1853, provision was made for appointment of three commissioners to represent the state of Michigan in the construction of the ship canal. These commissioners signed the contract on April 5, 1853 with the Saint Mary's Falls Ship Canal Company, Erastus Corning signing as president of the company.

Particular note is made of the approximate acreages in the selection of land in the various counties which would be withdrawn from sale to be conveyed to the Saint Mary's Ship Canal Company on completion

of their contract. I find from the patents on file in the office of the secretary of state of Michigan and the approved list on file in the lands division of the Michigan Department of Conservation a total of 259,632 acres selected in the Upper Peninsula. Of the 187,000 acres classed as mineral land, 90,157 acres was selected in Houghton County, 39,527 acres in Marquette County, and 54,821 acres in Ontonagon County. The balance of 75,127 acres, the bulk of which were timber lands, were selected in Schoolcraft County, 46,051 acres; Mackinac County, 19,369 acres; Delta County, 9,501 acres; with only a total of 206 acres in Chippewa County where the canal was located. This varies somewhat from the 48,000 referred to by Professor Neu. The balance of the selection of 750,000 acres included in this grant, namely, 490,368 acres, was made in the lower peninsula of Michigan. The selection of the large acreage was in Alcona County, a total of 59,956 acres; others included Clare County, 24,551 acres; Isabella County, 36,061 acres; Mason County, 30,662 acres; Mecosta County, 44,138 acres; and Oceana County, 22,902 acres. There were eleven other counties with a selection between 10,000 and 20,000 acres and the remaining twelve counties included selections under 10,000 acres.

Professor Neu has presented a most interesting and informative outline of the connections between the financial interests in New York and the early development of Michigan. An excellent bibliography is included in her book which indicates extensive research. The report of the Semi-Centennial Commission of Saint Mary's Falls Ship Canal, edited and compiled by Charles Moore ((Detroit, 1907), might have been included for those interested in a composite history of the Saint Mary's Ship Canal.

Michigan Department of Conservation

ROBERT K. CLARK

Mr. Karl F. Zeisler of the Department of Journalism of the University of Michigan has pointed out that Dr. Edward Dorsch of Monroe headed a German newspaper. The *History of Monroe County, Michigan*, edited by Talcott E. Wing, published in 1890 by Munsell and Company of New York, on page 494 advises that:

In 1858 a German paper was started in Monroe called the *Unabharnigke*, with Dr. Edward Dorsch as editor. This paper was continued only a few months, and on its ruins, in 1859, the *Staats Zeitung* was started, with Dr. Dorsch in the editorial chair. This paper lived a year or more, meeting with phenomenal success for the times, but it was stranded by bad financial management and its publication discontinued. Dr. Dorsch was for very many years known as one of the most successful physicians of Monroe, and his reputation as a writer of verse and prose, and as a scientist, became familiar in this country and Europe.

Huron County Centennial History, 1859-1959. By Chet Hey and Norman Eckstein. (Copyright, 1959, completed 1960. 84 p. Illustrations. Secure from Huron County Centennial History, Box 183, Bad Axe, \$3.00.)

The history of Huron County is attractively presented in this eighty-four page booklet. Although there is no index, there is a table of contents which is helpful. The illustrations and map add to the enjoyment of this booklet. An honor roll of 252 names lists the county's war dead from the Civil War through the Korean conflict.

Ohio Handbook of the Civil War. By Robert S. Harper. (Columbus, Published by the Ohio Historical Society for the Ohio Civil War Centennial Commission, 1961. 78 p. Illustrations and maps. \$1.00.)

As the title indicates, this pamphlet is not a history of Ohio in the Civil War but a collection of miscellaneous information relating to the Buckeye state's role in the war. It should prove to be a useful reference work during the centennial and afterward.

Ohio has more to observe than have most Northern states. Dr. Harper, staff executive of the Ohio Civil War Centennial Commission, points out that only New York and Pennsylvania sent more men into the Union armed forces; while in proportion to its population, Ohio's military contribution surpassed that of all other states in the North. There is a problem here, however. It is true, as Dr. Harper says, that some Ohio men served in regiments of other states or in federal units. These men must be counted in computing the total number of Ohio soldiers. By the same token, not every member of the more than two hundred Ohio military units was an Ohio resident. Thus, eight members of Company B, 47th Ohio Infantry, who are included as Ohio winners of the Congressional Medal of Honor, are Michigan men since this company was organized at Adrian, Michigan, and offered its services to Ohio when no regiment was available in Michigan which it could join. These, and other Michigan men in Ohio regiments should be subtracted from the total of Ohio soldiers and added to Michigan's.

Ohio, unlike Michigan, has some battlefield sites that might attract a few tourists, largely as a result of Confederate General John Morgan's raid through southern Ohio in 1863. The handbook includes a map of Morgan's route and a brief account of the raid, in the defeat of which the 8th and 9th Michigan Cavalry played leading roles. Two sites relating to the raid are listed along with such attractions as General U. S. Grant's birthplace, the Rutherford B. Hayes Museum and

Library, and the Johnson's Island Confederate Cemetery. It is doubtful, however, that the home of Benjamin R. Hanby, composer of "Darling Nellie Gray," merits inclusion in a very selective list of Ohio's important Civil War sites. The emphasis of the booklet, with the exception of brief accounts of the Copperheads and of Ohio's wartime governors, is almost entirely on military events. The effect of the war on Ohio's economy, soldiers' relief activities, the operation of the draft — these and other important topics are not discussed.

Michigan Historical Commission

GEORGE S. MAY

The Seaway Story. By Carleton Mabee. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1961. xii, 301 p. Illustrations, maps, and index. \$5.95.)

Carleton Mabee in his *The Seaway Story* documents a battle between rival forces which, while short of the mayhem and murder that sometimes accompanied economic struggles of earlier vintage, was pursued with equal ferocity if more finesse. The result was the same: delay with its inevitable and utterly needless expense to the people. Mabee describes it more delicately as "a classic story of the interplay of pressure groups in a democratic society, in which the public concern was sometimes all but forgotten. It is a record of sectional rivalry, international bickering, and tragic delay."

The only element missing in his absorbing, suspenseful story of the struggle for the St. Lawrence Seaway is the actual "gun shootin" that characterized the battle between the cattleman and the farmer in the founding of the West; or the devilry and dynamiting that marked the early history of American railroads.

The author, whose home is the St. Lawrence River Valley, obviously completed a monumental task of research in compiling *The Seaway Story*; he has converted his data into narrative, novel-like telling that were it fiction would force the reader to turn to the back of the book to see how it comes out; and he has shown exquisitely good manners in resisting the impulse (which we sometimes wish he hadn't) to excoriate the villains and praise the heroes.

The story of the actual construction of this record breaking project deserves a book of its own; and the author risked the possibility of anticlimax in telling it after describing the struggle to get the Seaway. But, Mr. Mabee, with consummate skill in communications converts technical construction lingo into dramatic understandable layman's language.

Although the author makes no obvious point of it, a great and important truth shines brightly through the crass maneuverings and sometimes scummy details of the Seaway struggle: it is the fact that with

faith, perseverance and indomitable will to do, just about all obstacles, physical or man-made, can be overcome. It may take generations as in the case of the Seaway, or it may take years as in the case of a local project such as a hospital or water system, but it can be done.

More and detailed maps would have helped the reader; and a line indicating that Michigan's two peninsulas were permanently connected at the Straits of Mackinac on the inside cover maps would have pleased this reviewer.

Mackinac Bridge Authority

LAWRENCE A. RUBIN

Anthony Wayne and the Founding of the United States Army. By Richard C. Knopf. (Columbus, Anthony Wayne Parkway Board, Ohio State Museum, 1961. 246 p. Illustrations.)

During the past few years Richard C. Knopf has published numerous articles and one book dealing with the Indian campaigns of Anthony Wayne. Indeed, so frequently has Knopf published on this subject that one is tempted to agree with the statement, made in reference to his previous book, *Anthony Wayne, A Name in Arms*, that Knopf "knows more about Wayne than at least any American historian has told." The latest result of Knopf's researches, *Anthony Wayne and the Founding of the United States Army*, is perhaps the logical culmination of its author's work on Wayne, and it is, in his own words, "a summary report." The reader thus approaches this book with the feeling that it will be definitive.

There can be little disagreement with Knopf's statement in the first chapter that few wars in United States history have been so well recorded as Wayne's campaign against the Indians of the Old Northwest. Knopf himself has done much to make this true. It is not quite so easy, however, to agree with his statement that the importance of Wayne's work has been largely overlooked. There are at least three full scale biographies of Wayne, and James Ripley Jacobs devoted much space to "Mad Anthony" and his Indian campaign in *The Beginnings of the U. S. Army, 1783-1812*. In stressing Wayne's victory over the Indians as the decisive factor in opening up the West to settlement, Knopf tends to minimize the diplomacy involved in the Jay Treaty and the Treaty of San Lorenzo. Further, one could add that in spite of Greenville, the Indian problem in the Old Northwest wasn't fully resolved until Tecumseh's defeat in the War of 1812.

Throughout the book the major focus is on Wayne as he attempts to recruit, train, supply, and otherwise prepare an army for a task that had proven too much for the forces led by Josiah Harmar and Arthur

St. Clair. It is a detailed and well-presented story, and certainly the first to rely so heavily on primary sources. This reliance on the official Wayne correspondence is a main strength of the book, but it also accounts in some degree for certain of its weaknesses. Knopf quotes extensively from the Wayne papers—at times too extensively. More paraphrasing, summary, and analysis would perhaps be as effective. In addition, by working so close to primary materials Knopf does not always present full details concerning background situations. The interpretations of specific problems as seen by Wayne are not always a full view.

The author has divided his work into two parts. The first deals with the organization and administration of the army from 1792, when Wayne took command, to the spring of 1793, when the army took the field. The second part of the book, comprising seven chapters, provides a good treatment of the operations, progress, and problems of the Legion as it moved toward the Maumee and the encounter with the Indian enemy. As previously stated, basic reliance is on official correspondence, especially that between Wayne and Henry Knox, Secretary of War.

In this reviewer's opinion it is with the first part of his book that Knopf makes his major contribution. These chapters contain much useful material—details on personnel, training, supply, and administration that have hitherto been difficult to obtain in such a well-organized manner. The chapter on supply, for example, is especially useful, and throws much light on the difficulties Wayne had with army contractors. One can sympathize with the army commander as he sought by every means in his power to expedite the cumbersome system then employed.

In the final chapter an assessment of Wayne's contributions to the American military tradition is made. Wayne's emphasis on discipline and training was important, and he did as much as any man could to point out the weakness of too much reliance on militia. One might question, however, the extent to which Wayne's work prepared the nation to accept the concept of a well-trained regular standing army. Too much of the history of the War of 1812 shows that many of the lessons taught by the Wayne campaign were not fully learned by the people and government of the United States.

Anthony Wayne and the Founding of the United States Army is not easy reading. This is not due to the writing, but because of the form of publication employed. It is a mimeographed work and suffers from the usual limitations of such publishing. The author is culpable, however, in not providing an index. Further, by limiting the book to seventy-five copies it will not get the reading public it deserves. This is unfortunate, but not without remedy. It could give Dr. Knopf a legitimate reason to seek another form of publication and wider distribution

for his book. Republication, if undertaken, would be enhanced by a careful reworking in respect to style and structure. In its present form the work is without doubt a valuable study, but it also shows the effects of haste and too much of what one associates with the graduate thesis.

Western Michigan University

ALAN S. BROWN

Lumber Bibliography-Michigan. By William B. Lloyd, professor; and Richard Voelker, graduate research assistant. (East Lansing, 1961. 12 p.)

Lumber Bibliography-Michigan may be obtained free upon request from the Department of Forest Products at Michigan State University. The bibliography is useful since it brings together in one place some of the better known sources on lumbering in Michigan. It is incomplete and in places confusing. However, as Professor Lloyd states, an incomplete bibliography is better than none at all. He writes that the history of the lumber industry in Michigan is certainly a great one and it is surprising the amount of information that has been written concerning it.

The authors hope that the publication of this small bibliography will contribute many hours of enjoyable reading to Michiganites and others who are interested in the tremendous and fascinating history of lumber in Michigan.

Contributors

Samuel T. McSeveney received the B.A. degree from Brooklyn College, the M.A. from the University of Connecticut, and currently is completing his doctoral dissertation at the State University of Iowa. At present he is on the faculty of the Los Angeles State College in the history department.

Mrs. Helen Everett is on the staff of the Michigan Historical Commission and is Associate Editor of Michigan History Magazine.

Robin A. Drews received his Ph.D. degree from the University of Michigan. Since 1948 he has been on the faculty of Michigan State University in the Social Science and Foreign Studies Departments. His coauthorship of "The Carp in Michigan" appeared in the March, 1957 issue of *Michigan History*.

Lloyd Berger Copeman was told many stories of early pioneer days by his great-uncle, Sidney Copeman, who lived to be ninety-six at the time of his death in 1946. The Copemans settled in the northern part of Oakland County and also near Lapeer in Lapeer County.

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The Historical Society of Michigan is an organization maintained and managed by Michigan citizens who are interested in the history of their state. It includes teachers, business men, professional people, and others who write history, study history, or just enjoy reading history. Its purpose is to encourage historical research and publication and to foster local historical societies throughout the state. Membership dues to individuals, libraries, and institutions are \$5.00 per year. *Michigan History* is sent to each member.

The Michigan Historical Commission is an official state body, consisting of six members appointed by the Governor. It was first established by an act of the legislature in 1913. The Commission is custodian of the state's archives; it compiles, edits, and publishes Michigan materials; and seeks to cultivate, through the Historical Society of Michigan and other groups, a continuing interest in the history of Michigan from the early times to the present.

Michigan History is a quarterly journal containing articles by qualified writers on Michigan subjects, reviews of books related to Michigan and its past, and news of historical activities in the state. Contributions are invited. Manuscripts should be submitted to the Editor, Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing 13, Michigan.

The Commission maintains at Lansing the Michigan Historical Museum, a rich storehouse of artifacts and documents related to the history of the state.

Among the activities of the Commission and the Society are the following: an annual meeting is held each year in the fall, at which tours and talks on Michiganiana are enjoyed; books and pamphlets are published from time to time; a conference on the teaching of Michigan materials is held annually; historical celebrations are encouraged in various parts of the state; a program of marking historical places is sponsored; guidance is provided to local governmental and state agencies on the destruction of useless records and the preservation of records having historical value.

